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THE CAREER OF THE REVEREND GEORGE DANA BOARDMAN

by

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George Dana Bourceman

The Engraving by Co. Photo.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Statement of the Problem

The problem of this dissertation is to describe the career of the Reverend George Dana Boardman, 1828-1903. The Rev. Mr. Boardman was the only surviving child of the first Christian missionaries to the Karen people of Burma and the stepson of the pioneer American foreign missionary, Adoniram Judson. Although the work of his parents and stepfather is fairly well known, Boardman himself has up to now never been the subject of thorough scholarly treatment. During his thirty-year--1864-94--pastorate at the First Baptist Church of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, he achieved unique distinction as a biblical expositor. Many of his sermons were published and widely disseminated. Dr. Boardman had an all-embracing vision of Christian unity and was a vigorous "ecumenical" advocate before "ecumenism" became the concern it is today. He firmly believed that the world had outgrown war and thus championed the cause of world peace. A passion for the development of Christian character by the application of the teachings of Jesus was perhaps the leading concern of his life. He brought a progressive outlook to virtually every Christian and community concern, to missions, higher education, the debate between science and religion, and contemporary social issues.

B. Limits

This investigation is limited to "career" and thus precludes the attempt to write a full-scale "life" of Boardman. There are two reasons for the limitation. First, the ministerial career of the man was sufficiently vast and varied in itself to warrant a thorough-going study. Second, the materials are available for investigating his career; they are not for writing a complete biography. For certain periods of his life it is very difficult to piece together a coherent and comprehensive picture, e.g., from the time of his departure from Burma at age six to his graduation from seminary at age twenty-seven, or the years of his Rochester pastorate. Although the distinction between "career" and "life" may seem slight, it does serve to emphasize the limitations imposed by the sources.

C. Sources for Research

To study the career of George Dana Boardman is to find oneself confronted with an abundance of sources--at least for some phases of his work. The student can be grateful for Boardman's foresight in preserving materials which would otherwise have been lost forever. For convenience this description of the sources is divided into two parts: first an accounting of special collections and original records and second of things more generally available.

The most important single collection is that in the care of the American Baptist Historical Society's library in Rochester, New York. The Boardman papers, consisting of ten cartons of sermons, pamphlets, letters, clippings, and notebooks, have been rescued from an uncertain fate--they were found a few years ago dumped in a bin at the printing plant of the American Baptist Publication Society--and are now under the loving care of the Rev. Edward C. Starr, the Historical Society's curator. Specifically, the Boardman collection includes correspondence to him for the period 1864-1903, college notebooks from his Brown University days, seminary notes, bound collections of his published sermons, MS sermons and sermon notes, eleven small notebooks of Bible studies, a variety of unpublished lectures including the major series "Corporate Society," bound volumes of letters and clippings regarding the publication of his books, a few letters from Boardman to others, hundreds of newspaper clippings--in scrapbooks, on loose pages, and single--concerning his activities, and photographs. The compiling of the clippings, pamphlets, and letters and binding them was Boardman's work; his hand is evident in notations and arrangement. There is also evidence that Mrs. Boardman has worked over the

papers, attempting to give them some order; notations in her hand are frequent. The newspaper clippings of which there are so many have proved invaluable. Many of the periodicals from which they were taken would now be almost impossible to find, even if one knew where to look. References to them, when identification is possible, do not have page numbers. The symbol (c) will indicate that the item cited is one of the many clippings in the Boardman papers in the American Baptist Historical Society. Constant reference to the Society's library in this dissertation necessitates using the abbreviation ABHS to refer to the depository at Rochester, New York. The ABHS also holds the original records of the Philadelphia Baptist Ministers' Conference and the Brotherhood of the Kingdom, two organizations in which Boardman played important roles. Records of the Barnwell (S.C.) Baptist Association and the Monroe (N.Y.) Baptist Association are also kept in the ABHS. The writer was able to consult the ABHS materials in August, 1964, and October, 1965.

The next most important collection of sources on Boardman is in the archives of the First Baptist Church, Philadelphia, referred to herein as "FBC archives." Although the church suffered a fire some years ago and doubtless some relevant materials were lost, there remain many indispensable items. Most significant of these is Boardman's sermon register for 1864-94, a record of each Sunday's sermon titles and Scripture readings plus occasional notations about his other activities; it is not a diary, although from time to time it served as one. This will always be cited simply as Register in this dissertation. The minute books of the church, as well as the Pastor's Report, published annually from 1877-93, supplied

much helpful information. Also in the archives are bound volumes of clippings, letters, and pamphlets concerning "The Twenty-fifth Anniversary" of Boardman's pastorate and his "Resignation;" another bound collection entitled "Pamphlets 1837-89" is a compilation mostly of published articles, sermons, and lectures. When he presented this latter volume to the church, he wrote:

I am vain enough to think that the future Historian of our Church may be interested in further details of my public ministry. Accordingly I send you herewith a volume entitled Pamphlets 1837-89, requesting you to place it in our Church vault for custody.¹

The writer was graciously allowed free access to the FBC archives in August, 1965.

Also in Philadelphia at the University of Pennsylvania library rare book department are four letters from Boardman to Dr. William Pepper, the then provost of the University; the letters are now part of the massive Pepper MSS and pertain primarily to Boardman's connection with the University as trustee.

The library of Andover Newton Theological School, Newton Centre, Massachusetts has quite complete files of the more important Baptist periodicals from Boardman's time including The Baptist Missionary Magazine, The Watchman, The Examiner, and The National Baptist. It is most unfortunate that a bound collection of pamphlets, clippings, and autograph letters on church unity presented to Andover Newton by Boardman has disappeared. It would have been invaluable in the preparation of chapter seven

¹Boardman to K. B. Tupper, Nov. 5, 1901, in "Pamphlets 1837-89," FBC archives.

of this present work. The Andover Newton library also made available the catalogues of Newton Theological Institution for the years of Boardman's matriculation there.

A letter to Brown University brought a reply from the school archivist which gave important data concerning Boardman's student life there.

The more readily available materials include Boardman's books and many of his published sermons. Help in locating these was found in A Baptist Bibliography by Edward C. Starr, who lists nearly one hundred titles by Boardman and under each entry the libraries where the works may be found.¹ An invaluable aid has been the anthology of his writings edited by Mrs. Boardman under the title Life and Light.² Bound with this but separately paged is a collection of Memorabilia by friends and associates of Boardman. To avoid possible confusion in the page references, the letter "m" after a page number will refer to the Memorabilia portion, when reference is made in this dissertation. Boardman's books are a fair representation of his thought; they include much material previously published separately but now difficult if not impossible to obtain. The writer has been able to use all his books and the majority of single published sermons.

Another important source of information on Boardman's early years has been the several books on memoirs and biography concerning his parents, stepfather, stepmother, and grandfather.

¹Edward C. Starr, A Baptist Bibliography (Rochester, N.Y.: American Baptist Historical Society, 1947--), III, B3604-B3702.

²Life and Light: Thoughts from the Writings of George Dana Boardman with Memorabilia (Philadelphia: Griffith and Rowland Press, 1905).

Some brief personal recollections of Boardman by former members of his church are preserved in an unpublished paper by Ivan Murray Rose. These shed some light on the personality of the man but have not provided anything of significance for this dissertation.¹

¹Infra, p. 44.

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D. Previous Research

There has been little meaningful previous research done on the subject of this dissertation. A thorough perusal of Dissertation Abstracts and Doctoral Dissertations Accepted by American Universities was made, but no mention of Boardman could be found. The Rev. Edward C. Starr, curator of the library of the American Baptist Historical Society, in whose possession the Boardman papers are kept, reported that no one has made use of them and to his knowledge no one has any dissertation in progress.¹ Recently Edwin S. Gaustad listed George Dana Boardman as one of a number of "popular preachers" of the late nineteenth century still awaiting critical study.² A brief article appeared some years ago on Dr. Boardman, but it was mainly a personal reminiscence and very brief.³ The writer has had the use of a paper written by the Rev. Ivan Murray Rose, former pastor of the First Baptist Church, Philadelphia, which includes some interesting glimpses of Boardman and reports of a few persons who could still remember him; otherwise the paper lacks comprehensiveness and documentation.⁴ The archivist of the First Baptist Church of Philadelphia knows of no present work being carried on regarding Boardman and, in fact, is acquainted only with these two short papers.⁵

¹Letter to the author, October 27, 1964.

²"Themes for Research in American Baptist History," Foundations, VI, (April, 1963), 163.

³Mitchell Bronk, "George Dana Boardman," The Chronicle, XI (Oct., 1948), 159-66.

⁴"George Dana Boardman," unpublished paper read before the Phi Alpha Club, Philadelphia, March 17, 1955.

⁵Interview with Mr. Arthur Eglit, August 22, 1965.

E. Methodology

The method of this dissertation is historical and descriptive. An initial chapter sets forth chronologically Boardman's early life and preparation for his career. Each remaining chapter treats one aspect of his ministry, e.g., as pastor, preacher, or scholar. The hope is that a well-rounded presentation of his entire career will be achieved.

CHAPTER II

PREPARATION FOR THE CAREER

Many factors combine to prepare a man for his career. Family background, boyhood influences, formal training, travels, misfortunes, health, marriage, and early pastorates all figured in preparing the Rev. George Dana Boardman for the important contribution which he made in his own day. No understanding of his career is complete which fails to show the background and influences which prepared him for a unique ministry.

A. The Boardman-Judson Heritage

Were it possible to choose one's ancestors, few could have done better than did George Dana Boardman, Jr.¹ Son, stepson, grandson, and great-grandson of Christian ministers, he bore the name of his heroic missionary father. George D. Boardman, Sr., early manifested mental acumen; he reportedly memorized verbatim his entire Latin grammar at age thirteen.² His father, the Rev. Sylvanus Boardman, and other Baptists

¹ Cf. the remark by H. L. Wayland in First Baptist Church, The Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Settlement of Our Pastor Rev. George Dana Boardman, D.D. (Philadelphia: Privately printed by Stephen A. Caldwell, 1889), p. 4. Hereinafter cited as The Twenty-fifth Anniversary.

² Alonzo King, Memoir of George Dana Boardman, Late Missionary to Burma (Boston: Lincoln, Edwards and Co., 1834), p. 10.

of Maine founded the institution which became Colby University.¹ Not surprisingly, at the first commencement of the Maine Literary and Theological Institution in 1822, the valedictorian--in a class of two--was George Dana Boardman, Sr.² Although appointed a tutor for the following year at the fledgling school, inspired by the work of Adoniram Judson and others, he soon applied as a candidate for missionary service in Burma.³ After a year of further studies at Andover Theological Seminary, urged on him by his father, he married Sarah Hall in 1825; together they set out immediately on the four-and-a-half month voyage to Calcutta.⁴ After some delays they were able to establish an important work at Tavoy, Burma, among the Karen people.⁵

1. Birth and Early Childhood in Burma

George Dana Boardman, Jr., born at Tavoy, August 18, 1828, entered a world which held little promise.⁶ His elder sister Sarah lived but a short while. After her death George's father wrote, "George, our only surviving child, is very ill, and we scarcely hope for his recovery. Mrs. Boardman's health, as well as my own is also feeble."⁷ A month later

¹Henry S. Burrage, "The Beginnings of Waterville College, Now Colby University," Collections and Proceedings of the Maine Historical Society, second series, IV (1893), 125f.

²Ibid., p. 138.

³King, op. cit., pp. 35f.

⁴J. C. Robbins, Boardman of Burma (Philadelphia: Judson Press, 1940), pp. 43, 59.

⁵Ibid., p. 61 et passim.

⁶Adoniram Judson, Autobiographical Record of Dates and Events, published as appendix to Edward Judson, The Life of Adoniram Judson (New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co., 1883), p. 566. Hereinafter cited as Autobiographical Record.

⁷From a letter, July, 1829, quoted in King, op. cit., p. 229.

the family barely escaped attack by Tavoy rebels.¹ The young missionary waged a losing struggle with illness until death came early in 1831.² Adoniram Judson, first to venture from America to proclaim the gospel in Burma and already a widower, wrote to console Sarah Boardman and made a promise:

As to little Georgie, who has now no earthly father to care for him, you can not, of course, part with him at present. But if you should wish to send him home, I pledge myself to use what little influence I have in procuring for him all those advantages of education which your fondest wishes can desire. Or if you should be prematurely taken away, and should condescend on your dying bed, to commit him to me . . . , I hereby pledge my fidelity to receive and treat him as my own son, to send him home in the best time and way, to provide for his education, and to watch over him as long as I live.³

Soon Judson could treat George as his own son, but not because Sarah had died. She valiantly continued missionary labors alone for a time, but a little more than three years after her husband's death, she married Judson.⁴ Many years later George paid tribute to his stepfather: "Although not my sire by blood, he was to me all that the best of fathers could have been"⁵

¹George Dana Boardman, Sr., to Dr. Bolles, August 29, 1829, ibid., p. 239.

²Autobiographical Record, p. 566.

³A. Judson to Sarah Boardman, March 4, 1831, quoted in E. Judson, op. cit., p. 375.

⁴Autobiographical Record, loc. cit.

⁵George D. Boardman to the First Baptist Church, Malden, Mass., on the occasion of the Judson centennial, 1888, in Judson Centennial Services (n.p.: Mystic Side Press, 1888), p. 57.

Sarah Boardman Judson had high hopes for her son. She longed to see the day when "he might stand in his father's place and preach among the heathen the unsearchable riches of Christ."¹ Her desire required that little George survive and that he receive an education. He must, therefore, be sent to America; She took comfort in the knowledge that the separation was for her son's good; she counted it a privilege to make the sacrifice "for the sake of Jesus."² The ship Cashmere, bearing new missionaries from America, arrived in Burma, December 7, 1834, and returned the following week with six-year-old George among its passengers.³

E. Voyage to America

For the first short leg of the journey George was under the watchful eye of missionary William Dean. At Singapore they had a brush with death at the hands of Malay pirates--cannibals, as Dean called them. Young George hid under the seat of the small boat in which they were riding, finding protection from the spear thrusts, until rescue came.⁴ From Singapore to Boston the boy seems to have been without Dean's company, for it is unlikely he would have been treated as cruelly as he was had a guardian been present. Sadistic seamen killed the pet goat he had brought along.⁵ Boardman recalled the sailors' threat to search him out at midnight if ever he told anyone, and said of his arrival at T Wharf in

¹Fanny Forrester [Emily C. Judson], Memoir of Sarah B. Judson (New York: Colby and Co., 1848), p. 150.

²Ibid., p. 191. ³Autobiographical Record, loc. cit.

⁴W. Dean to G. Boardman, March, 1866, in Boardman papers, ABHS.

⁵Forrester, op. cit., p. 195.

Boston, "I shall never forget my feelings when I realized that I was free from the sailors. I knelt down and took some of the soil in my hands and kissed it in my joy."¹ He later came to believe that the sailors' treatment of him had left permanent effects on his nervous system.²

Sarah B. Judson sent along instructions for her son's care and upbringing. His foster parents he was to call "uncle" and "aunt;" they were to be "conscientious and pious--a family over whom religion, practical and heartfelt religion, maintains a constant influence."³ Whoever was to care for him was explicitly enjoined to keep "a journal of his health, conduct, studies, etc." to be sent to his mother frequently.⁴ For George's comfort and encouragement Sarah penned a short poem:

FOR MY DARLING GEORGE

You cannot see your dear mama.
But think of her my love;
Nor can you see your dear papa,
For he's in heaven above.

Your sister Sarah, too, is gone,
And little brother dear;--
But still, my child, you're not alone,
For God is ever near.⁵

3. Boyhood in Maine and Massachusetts

Who met the child in Boston, who made the arrangements for his care, or where he was taken to live at first is not certain. Over the course of the next several years he apparently lived with at least three families.

¹Laurens, "Men I Meet: 1. George Dana Boardman," The Standard (Chicago), Sept. 7, 1893 (c) (report of an interview with Boardman); see also report of Boardman's address to the Boston Baptist Social Union, The Watchman (Boston), Oct. 30, 1890.

²Laurens, op. cit. ³Forrester, op. cit., pp. 201f. ⁴Ibid.

⁵Original MS in Boardman papers, ABHS.

At first he may have been with his grandfather, the Rev. Sylvanus Boardman, in New Sharon, Maine.¹ At the age of eight George was attending school at nearby Farmington and recited for a closing exhibition this poem written by his grandfather:

Though I am quite a little boy,
 I would my youthful mind employ
 In striving knowledge to obtain,
 And not spend all my days in vain.
 Although my prospects are not bright,
 Yet I am not discouraged quite:
 For of great Franklin 'tis related
 That his young mind was cultivated,
 Whereby he rose to wealth and fame,
 With LL.D. adjoined his name,
 And I have somewhere seen it stated,
 And never knew the fact debated,
 That Isaac Newton, Socrates,
 Mark Tully and Demosthenes,
 Were once quite tiny boys like me.
 And scarce had done with A. B. C.,
 But yet by dint of application
 They rose to seats of elevation,
 And by their oratoric thunder
 Filled Rome and half the world with wonder.
 And mayn't a boy of moderate talents,
 Observing strict and even balance,
 By rigid, patient application,
 Hope to obtain some useful station,
 And strew some benefits around,
 Nor be a cumberer of the ground?
 But lest your patience be expended,
 My crude oration must be ended.
 My thanks to you, respected teacher,
 For listening to so dull a preacher.
 My fellow students, thanks to you,
 I bid affectionate adieu.²

¹See the address of George's cousin, also a grandson of Sylvanus Boardman, George Bullen, A Biographical Sketch of Rev. Sylvanus Boardman (Portland, Maine: Brown Thurston Co., 1894).

²Original [?] MS in Boardman papers, ABHS, signed "S.B." See also The National Baptist (Philadelphia), May 5, 1880. Boardman also read the poem at a Colby commencement dinner, July, 1883; see the clipping from Waterville Mail, July 20, 1883, in Boardman papers, ABHS.

A letter from his stepfather early in 1839 expressed his parents' pleasure at his happiness in the home of an otherwise unidentified Captain Childs.¹ Who this family was or where they lived is not known.

George seems to have been no less studious than his father had been. Judson wrote to him, "Your letter of January 9 [1840] gave us great pleasure, as it furnished proof of your proficiency in learning. . . ." ² Perhaps the boy had been over-zealous in his studies, for the same letter from Judson refers to his frightful dreams and poor health. His stepfather counseled him to walk a mile early every day or have "equivalent exercise" that his appetite and health might improve and his sleep be restful.³

Whether his mother had wished it or not, young Boardman was never out of reach of religious influence. Although contact between George and his grandfather Boardman may have been only spasmodic, certain influences may be noted. Sylvanus Boardman was possessed with good common sense. When William Miller's Adventist preaching caused a great stir in Maine, George was visiting his grandfather. Upon seeing a strange light, he called for the elder Boardman, who reportedly said, "Well, George, it may be that Mr. Miller is right, but I am going to bed."⁴ Sylvanus Boardman was also abreast of moral and social issues in his day; he had taken anti-slavery and anti-rum stands as early as 1832 and was an ad-

¹A. Judson to G. Boardman, March 3, 1839, cited in Francis Wayland, A Memoir of the Life and Labors of the Rev. Adoniram Judson (Boston: Phillips, Samson & Co., 1853), II, 136.

²A. Judson to G. Boardman, Dec. 24, 1840, cited ibid., II, 158f.

³Ibid.

⁴Henry S. Burrage, History of the Baptists in Maine (Portland: Marks Printing House, 1904), p. 200.

vocate of pacifism, all positions which George Dana Boardman came to hold.¹ Sometime before his fifteenth birthday George professed the Christian religion, an event which greatly pleased his parents.² He was baptized by the Rev. William Lamson in Thomaston, Maine.³ At that time he was living with a Mr. and Mrs. Newton.⁴ Doubtless this was the family of the Rev. Calvin Newton, who was professor in the short-lived Thomaston Theological Institution until its demise in 1841, and then took a pastorate in Grafton, Massachusetts.⁵ Newton, as Sylvanus Boardman was, was a vigorous anti-slavery spokesman.⁶ In 1846 George was still with the Newtons, who had since moved to Worcester where Dr. Newton began medical practice.⁷

The previous year, since Sarah B. Judson's health was poor and the prognosis not encouraging, it was determined that the Judsons and their three elder children would return to the United States.⁸ Mrs. Judson's

¹Bullen, op. cit., p. 19.

²A. Judson to G. Boardman, April 7, 1843, cited in F. Wayland, op. cit., II, 190; Sarah Judson to G. Boardman, cited in Forrester, op. cit., p. 204.

³The Watchman (Boston), May 7, 1903, p. 8.

⁴A. Judson to G. Boardman, April 7, 1843, cited in F. Wayland, op. cit., II, 190.

⁵Newton Theological Institution, Historical Catalogue (12th ed.; "The Institution Bulletin," Vol. XVII, No. 4; Newton Centre, Mass.: n.n., 1925), p. 41; Burrage, History of Baptists in Maine, pp. 248ff.

⁶Burrage, op. cit., pp. 305-307.

⁷A. Judson to Mrs. Newton, Jan. 26, 1846, cited in Wayland, op. cit., II, 241; Newton Theological Institution, loc. cit.

⁸Letter of Judson cited in Wayland, op. cit., II, 445f.; Autobiographical Record, p. 567.

health failed utterly, and she died, September 1, 1845, on the island of St. Helena and was buried there the same day.¹ Years later George Dana Boardman showed a friend his most prized possession, a small pincushion sewed for him by his mother from scraps of her own clothing as death drew near.² Adoniram Judson, now widowed again, continued to Boston, arriving there October 15, 1845, and went almost immediately to Worcester, where he left two other of his sons with the Newtons.³ The following spring he wrote to Emily Chubbuck, soon to be the third Mrs. Judson, "All my children are now settled for the present. George Boardman will enter Brown University next fall."⁴ Among those who waved goodbye as Adoniram and Emily sailed back to Burma from Boston, July 11, 1846, was the same George Boardman.⁵

B. Higher Education

1. Brown University

The most natural step for eighteen-year-old Boardman to take toward higher education was to go to Brown University. It was a Baptist-founded school; it was near at hand; Adoniram Judson was a graduate and close friend of the president; Calvin Newton had attended for a time.⁶ Possibly

¹Ibid.

²Mitchell Bronk, "George Dana Boardman" (unpublished address delivered Feb. 25, 1948, First Baptist Church, Philadelphia), p. 2 (Mimeographed).

³Autobiographical Record, p. 567.

⁴A. C. Kendrick, The Life and Letters of Mrs. Emily C. Judson (New York: Sheldon & Co., 1867), p. 178.

⁵Autobiographical Record, loc. cit.

⁶Brown University, Historical Catalogue of Brown University, 1764-1914 (Providence: Published by the University, 1914), pp. 79, 438.

with an assist from his stepfather, George enrolled at Brown in the fall of 1846. The bills for his expenses were made out to Calvin Newton, and his home address was given as Worcester, Massachusetts.¹ The records at Brown show that he was a "ward of Calvin Newton, M.D."²

During the first year George studied geometry, Latin prose, Latin grammar, Roman history, Greek prose, Greek grammar, algebra, and Grecian history.³ He entered into school religious and social life as well. He was a member of the United Brothers society, the "Religious Society," and a temperance group.⁴ In addition to the regular chapel services, George on occasion attended a Quaker meeting.⁵ With classmates he met from time to time for discussions and prayer. These gatherings impressed Boardman in various ways: "a blessed meeting," "a glorious meeting," "a sad, solemn time. Tried to say something. Heart like a rock of ice."⁶ The picture emerges of an eager, well adjusted freshman student. The journal also records his first experience of eating lettuce, the return of spring after the long New England winter, and the pleasure of having made "the best recitation for this term."⁷ His wide reading interests

¹Brown University, Treasurer's Accounts of Students for Term Bills, 1846-- (in the University archives), cited in letter from University library, November 5, 1965.

²Brown University, Register of Students Admitted, 1846 (in University archives, cited ibid.).

³Ibid.

⁴George Dana Boardman, Journal for March, 1847 (unpublished material in notebook in Boardman papers, ABHS).

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

become apparent in the following journal entry:

Met with unusual success in obtaining books for vacation. An extraordinary treat is before me. For philosophical I have Burke, Mackintosh, and Carlyle,--historical Mackintosh,--Critical Johnson, Leigh Hunt, and Wilson--Poetical Wordsworth. Imaginative, James, Scott,--Biographical, Boswell's Johnson, Gibbon, and John Foster.¹

2. Period of Wanderings

For some reason George left his studies during the sophomore year. The "Register of Students Admitted (1846)" notes that he was dismissed January 20, 1848.² The cause which Boardman gave for his departure was "spiritual shipwreck" and a desire to study law.³ Perhaps adventure beckoned to him as well. Whatever the reasons, he soon found himself in the Ohio River valley town of Cannelton, Indiana, where he ran a sawmill, opened a variety store, and made political speeches in behalf of Zachary Taylor.⁴ Drifting down to St. Louis, he entered a lawyer's office to further his study, only to abandon law to study medicine at Alton, Illinois.⁵ Ambition met with frustration when an attack of cholera forced a change of direction; the illness served to restore George's faith and point him to other pursuits.⁶

The vocation which Boardman now sensed was the Christian ministry. Perhaps he had naturally rebelled at the idea of following in his father's footsteps, or for that matter his stepfather's, grandfather's, and great-grandfather's. Nevertheless, he had always lived in a pious atmosphere. Frequent expressions of hope that he would profess religion and enter the ministry came to him in letters from his parents in Burma; these remin-

¹Ibid. ²Cited in letter from Brown Univ. library, Nov. 5, 1965.

³Laurens, loc. cit. ⁴Ibid. ⁵Ibid. ⁶Ibid.

ders undoubtedly left an indelible impression. Particularly in a time of illness would they be remembered.¹ It is likely that some of Brown University President Francis Wayland's concern for the upbuilding of the Christian ministry had left its mark on George as well.² With a clear sense of calling George Boardman ended the wanderings of a year and a half to return to Providence in the fall of 1849 to make a new beginning at Brown University.

3. Brown University Again

Re-enrolled in September, 1849, as a member of the class of 1852, George took to his studies diligently.³ His own notations of grades for two terms of that year show a high level of achievement: "First term--Algebra 92, Greek 95, Latin 96, French 97, Attendance 100, Conduct 100, Average 95. Second term--Trigonometry 93, Rhetoric 97, Latin 98, French 100, Attendance 100, Conduct 100, Average 97."⁴

The school year 1850-51 brought major changes in the Brown curriculum. Dr. Wayland had long been thinking of a way to make collegiate education broader, more flexible, and available to far more students than was possible under the traditional program which, he felt, was scarcely suited to mid-nineteenth century New England. Education should be provided for workers, too. Said Wayland, "We do well to revere the genius of Milton, and Dante, and Goethe. But there is talent in a cotton mill

¹See the letters from A. Judson to him in Wayland, op. cit., II, 110, 159, 190, 242.

²See Francis Wayland, Notes on the Principles and Practices of Baptist Churches (New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co., 1857), ch. xxxv.

³Brown University, "Register of Students Admitted, 1848 (in Univ. archives), cited in letter from Univ. library, Nov. 5, 1965.

⁴In notebook in Boardman papers, ABHS.

as well as in an epic."¹ Another problem faced Wayland, too: for several years enrollments--and revenues!--had been declining. Thus in 1850 a new curriculum took effect which required that no one need work for a degree unless he wished and allowed the student wider freedom of choice than the old system.² The degree Ph.B. was added, requirements for which varied only slightly from those of the A.B.³ Wayland's plan did work to the extent that enrollment and revenue began a steady increase.⁴ No changes were made, however, in the religious regimen at Brown; each day's exercises began and ended with prayer and Bible reading, and those who absented themselves from prayers were given the same demerit as for missing a recitation.⁵

Under the new plan George Boardman finished his collegiate work by taking the following courses: Latin, English literature, history, political economy, chemistry, physiology, geology, moral philosophy, intellectual philosophy, natural philosophy, French, German, and declamation.⁶

In a school no larger than Brown--enrollment for 1850-51 was 174 and for 1851-52 225--the president could and did have intimate contact with and profound influence upon his students.⁷ Boardman recognized

¹Francis Wayland and H.L. Wayland, A Memoir of the Life and Labors of Francis Wayland, D.D., LL.D. (New York: Sheldon & Co., 1867), II, 96f., 105.

²Walter C. Bronson, The History of Brown University, 1764-1914 (Providence: Published by the University, 1914), pp. 263ff.

³Ibid., pp. 279-81.

⁴Ibid., p. 284.

⁵The Laws of Brown University, Enacted August 1, 1850 (Providence: Joseph Knowles, 1850), p. 24.

⁶Letter from Brown Univ. library, Nov. 5, 1965. ⁷Bronson, loc. cit.

President Wayland as one of the two greatest influences on his life, responsible for "laying the foundations of my mental and moral structure."¹ Very noteworthy are Dr. Wayland's views on slavery, war, and the unity of the church. In 1835 he published a textbook on ethics in which he unequivocally denounced slavery, saying, "Slavery . . . violates the personal liberty of man as a physical, intellectual, and moral being."² Further, "the moral precepts of the Bible are diametrically opposed to slavery."³ Wayland, however, was no immediatist; "the Christian religion," said he, "not only forbids slavery, but" "by its counsels of obedience to slaves and forbearance to masters" "provides the only method in which, after it has once been established, it may be abolished, and that with entire safety and benefit to both parties."⁴ In the same book he denounced war as both "contrary to the revealed will of God" and impractical as a solution to international problems.⁵ Let the nations adopt "the law of benevolence" and the causes of war--"the love of plunder and the love of glory"--will disappear.⁶ In answer to the charge of utopianism Wayland replied, "I am aware that all this may be called visionary, romantic, and chimerical. This, however, neither makes it so, nor shows it to be so."⁷ In the curing of all social ills Wayland would first cure and cultivate the moral nature of man.⁸ Although a staunch Baptist, he was a man of catholic spirit in his dealings with men of other denominations. Membership in the true

¹G. Boardman to David Hill, Feb. 27, 1890, in The National Baptist (Philadelphia), March 6, 1890 (c).

²The Elements of Moral Science (2nd ed.; New York: Cooke and Co., Publishers, 1835), p. 220.

³Ibid., p. 223. ⁴Ibid., p. 229. ⁵Ibid., pp. 441, 446.

⁶Ibid., p. 444. ⁷Ibid., p. 446, italics his. ⁸Ibid., p. 391.

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body of Christ is based, not on one's denomination, but on the moral character which results from sharing the spirit of Christ.¹ An examination of all denominations shows "a lamentable deficiency of spiritual religion" but also "among them all, some who are honestly striving, according to their knowledge, to do the will of Christ from the heart."² The true church, said Wayland, "includes all of no sect; it excludes all of no sect; but in every sect, as in every nation, 'he that feareth God is accepted of him.'"³ Christians mistakenly limit their concern to their own denominations; they should rather "rejoice unfeignedly in the progress of true piety in any sect, and by any sect; and . . . strive to promote it."⁴ The church's unity consists neither in identity of knowledge nor identity of opinion nor uniformity of practice but "in identity of moral affections, in a right temper of heart toward God and toward our fellow-men."⁵ In securing Christian unity members of the various denominations should be ready to abandon sectarianism "up to the point of sacrifice of principle."⁶ Christians, said Dr. Wayland, should manifest their unity by joining with one another "in everything, so far as we can do it without the surrender of truth and a good conscience."⁷ What profound influence Francis Wayland had on George Dana Boardman will

¹Francis Wayland, University Sermons: Sermons Delivered in the Chapel of Brown University (Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln, 1849), p. 224.

²Ibid., p. 231. ³Ibid. ⁴Ibid., p. 232 ⁵Ibid., p. 242.

⁶Ibid., p. 250.

⁷Ibid.

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be made plain in the course of this paper.

As a teacher President Wayland sought to encourage independent and exact thinking in his pupils. He adhered to "the standard of perfect rectitude" and inculcated similar devotion to truth in his students.¹ Among the Boardman papers is a notebook of "Dr. Wayland's Lectures upon Intellectual Philosophy" consisting of seventy-five lectures written out carefully--with only an occasional doodle.²

There was a human side to Wayland, too. Boardman recalled the president's habit at daybreak chapel prayers of keeping one eye closed and the other open to watch the students.³ Nor did he lack a sense of humor. Once some of Boardman's classmates dared him to wear to class one of Dr. Judson's collars which, he said, "came up to my eyes." When Wayland saw the "ridiculous linen," he asked, "What fashion of collar is that you have on, sir?" Upon being told it belonged to Judson, he replied, "I apologize. Pray wear it every day of your life."⁴ On another occasion, when George was ready to leave school after certain discipline was meted out to some of the students, Dr. Wayland asked him to his home, and the "incipient insurrection" was squashed.⁵

The same year that George had entered Brown the first time, his friend and guardian, Dr. Calvin Newton of Worcester, ventured a new publication, The New England Medical Eclectic and Home Health Guide, known

¹Wayland and Wayland, op. cit., I, 301, 309. ²ABHS collection.

³George Dana Boardman, "Recollections of President Wayland," in R. P. Brown, et al., eds., Memories of Brown (Providence: Brown Alumni Magazine Co., 1909), p. 94.

⁴Ibid., p. 95

⁵Ibid.

after its first year as The New England Botanic Medical and Surgical Journal, and still later as The Worcester Journal of Medicine.¹ This is hardly worthy of note except for the fact that in 1851 four articles appeared in Newton's paper signed only "G.D.B." There is little doubt as to their authorship, since Boardman placed them in one of his own unpublished collections of pamphlets.² The articles are speculative and philosophical, perhaps written originally for courses at Brown. One of them, "Was Man Designed for a Physical Immortality?" asserts that man's body must dissolve since all matter is constantly decomposing, because reproduction constantly replaces the old and dying, and because of geological evidence.³ Already as a young man Boardman was exercising a certain independence of thought. The motto of Newton's Journal, "Seize upon truth wherever found, On Christian or on Heathen ground," made its impression on the collegian.⁴ More than thirty years after, discussing whether there should be more or less liturgy in Baptist churches, George Dana Boardman argued for more and clinched his case by quoting Newton's motto.⁵

At the Brown University commencement for 1852, Boardman gave an oration on "The Influence of the Supernatural."⁶ Although he was not

¹ Some issues still extant at Harvard Medical Library, Boston.

² In archives of First Baptist Church, Philadelphia.

³ The New England Botanic Medical and Surgical Journal, V (Sept., 1851), 268f.

⁴ See Newton's statement, Worcester Journal of Medicine, VII (Jan., 1852), 35.

⁵ Proceedings of the Baptist Autumnal Conference, 1884 (New York, 1884), pp. 88f.

⁶ Reuben A. Guild, History of Brown University (Providence: Providence Press Co., 1867), p. 412.

first in his class, he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa.¹

His collegiate training finished, his wanderings over, his Christian calling certain, he was now ready for the next phase of preparation for his career.

4. Newton Theological Institution

Baptists had founded their school for graduate theological training at Newton Centre, Massachusetts, in 1825.² George Dana Boardman enrolled in the fall of 1852, one of nine juniors; there were thirty-one students in all.³ The catalog required the following course of study: junior year--Hebrew language, New Testament Greek, translations into Hebrew, interpretation of the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures, biblical geography, chronology and antiquities, lectures on biblical criticism, and essays by students; middle year--interpretation of the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures continued, Chaldee [Aramaic] language, plans of sermons, examinations of printed sermons, evidences of Christianity, inspiration of the Scriptures, systematic theology; senior year--interpretation of the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures continued, ecclesiastical history, plans of sermons continued, instruction on the composition and delivery of sermons, writing of sermons, lectures on the constitution and government of churches and on the Christian ministry.⁴

Four professors constituted the faculty: Rev. Henry J. Ripley,

¹Brown University, Historical Catalogue, pp. 174-77.

²Newton Theological Institution, Historical Catalogue, p. ii.

³Newton Theological Institution, Catalogue, 1852-53 (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1852), p. 8.

⁴Ibid., p. 11.

professor of sacred rhetoric and pastoral duties; Rev. Horatio B. Hackett, professor of biblical literature and interpretation; Rev. Robert E. Pattison, professor of Christian theology; and Rev. Alvah Hovey, assistant instructor of Hebrew and librarian and later professor of Christian theology.¹

George's stepmother, Emily Chubbuck Judson, had returned to the United States after her husband's death and wrote to her son frequently. One piece of advice she gave him is worth noting, for it rather well expresses the kind of Christianity which Boardman's career exemplified:

Georgie, I do hope you won't get into any stiff, dry, hard, soulless theological seminary ways, or that seeing such ways won't drive you to an opposite extreme, and make you light-minded. Do try to live near the Saviour, and fan continually the vital spark of heavenly grace in you. Don't be speculative, or nurse morbid fancies, or anything but pure, simple, living, loving, Christianity.²

Emily also encouraged him to pursue an idea which reappears from time to time in his later preaching--the morality of the Old Testament.³

Aside from his academic work George dabbled with writing poetry. "An Evening Hymn" was eventually published.⁴ He also composed a hymn for the 1854 graduating class.⁵

¹Ibid., p. [5].

²Emily C. Judson to G. D. Boardman, Dec. 16, 1852 (in Boardman papers, ABHS).

³Emily C. Judson to G. D. Boardman, April 19, 1853 (in Boardman papers, ABHS).

⁴Original MS with revisions in Boardman papers, ABHS, dated April 13, 1854. Published as "Hastening on His March Resplendent" in D. C. Eddy, Memorial Hymnal, 1888.

⁵Original MS in Boardman papers, ABHS.

Not surprisingly the seminarian did student preaching; the first recorded occasion was at Newtonville, Massachusetts, July 17, 1853, the summer following his junior year.¹ George kept track of the amounts he received for his services: the amounts ranged from nothing to ninety-five cents to fifteen dollars.² Most of his senior year he spent in the South for reasons of health.³ In late November, 1854, having purchased a five-dollar hat and a five-dollar pair of boots, he headed for a Georgia plantation in or near Augusta.⁴ Between the first of December and the end of March he preached fourteen times in an Augusta church; for this service he received a total of thirty dollars.⁵ Perhaps with an eye to relieving his "pulmonary trouble" by making his permanent home in the South, George recorded the Augusta temperature three times a day from December 4 through March 24.⁶ On Christmas day the noon reading was seventy degrees.⁷ With the return of spring, George headed north again, preaching along the way at Barnwell, South Carolina, April 15, and at Alexandria, Washington, Baltimore, and Philadelphia.⁸ What arrangements he had made concerning his studies at Newton is not clear, but he did receive the B. D. at the 1855 commencement.⁹

C. The Young Minister

1. Marriage to Ella Covell

Neither the time nor the circumstances of the beginning of friendship with Miss Ella Covell are certain. He had made her acquaintance no

¹Notebook in Boardman papers, ABHS. ²Ibid.

³Laurens, loc. cit. ⁴Ibid.; notebook in Boardman papers, ABHS.

⁵Notebook in Boardman papers, ABHS. ⁶Ibid. ⁷Ibid. ⁸Ibid.

⁹Newton Theological Institution, Historical Catalogue, p. 61.

later than the first year at Newton, for a letter to George from Emily Judson, dated August 10, 1853, mentions Ella and her mother.¹ That same year they were engaged.² Some love poems penned by George while at Newton display his deep fondness for her. One example will suffice:

Remember I? Remember I?

Remember I? Remember I?
The halcyon hours that flitted by,
When cupid aimed his loving dart,
And left it quivering in my heart?
Can I forget those golden hours
When love was born amid the flowers,
And dared my heart with noble pride
To claim thee for my loving bride?
Forget? The stars shall sooner fall,
And earth be buried in her pall,
Than I forget those blissful hours
We wandered midst the summer bowers,
Until in Cupid's arms we lay,
And yielded to his loving sway!³

In those courting days Ella was often on his mind; her name appears frequently in his class notes.⁴

They were married at Albany, New York, August 14, 1855.⁵ Ella's mother lived with them for many years. When Boardman assumed the pastorate at Philadelphia, Mrs. Covell went with them and was received as a member of the church, too.⁶

¹Boardman papers, ABHS. ²Kendrick, op. cit., p. 395.

³Original MS, inscribed "N.T.I., April 3, 1854," in Boardman papers, ABHS.

⁴In Boardman papers, passim.

⁵According to Boardman's close friend Mitchell Bronk in the introduction to G. D. Boardman, The Problem of Jesus (6th ed., Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1932), p. 7. The city clerk's records in Albany go back only to 1870.

⁶First Baptist Church, Minute Book, 1847-77 (in archives), p. 305.

George and Ella Boardman had no children. They were therefore perhaps all the more devoted to each other. A close friend called their marriage "exceptionally congenial and happy."¹ Ella's term of endearment for her husband was "Seraph."² George considered his wife the person whose "poetic insight into the meaning of nature" had inspired him.³

2. First Pastorate, Barnwell Court House, South Carolina

Taking his physician's advice to move for the sake of his health, George Boardman and his bride accepted the call of the Baptist church at Barnwell Court House, South Carolina.⁴ His ministry began October 28, 1855.⁵ Ordination took place in the following December.⁶ The Barnwell Baptist church had been organized in 1803 with five members; by Boardman's time the church owned a parsonage and two meeting houses--one for whites and one for Negroes.⁷ The Negro members worshipped with the whites in the morning, sitting in the gallery, but had their own service Sunday afternoon.⁸ Boardman apparently ministered at both meetings.

¹Mitchell Bronk in G. Boardman, The Problem of Jesus, p. 7.

²Her notes in Boardman papers, ABHS.

³G. Boardman, Studies in the Creative Week (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1878), p. [3].

⁴Laurens, loc. cit. ⁵Notebook in Boardman papers, ABHS.

⁶Laurens, loc. cit.

⁷R. W. Lide, "Historical Sketch of the Barnwell Baptist Church," Minutes of the Thirty-fifth Annual Session of the Barnwell Baptist Association (Greenville: Keys & Thomas, 1891), p. 27.

⁸Report of address of G. Boardman at the Philadelphia Baptist Ministers' Conference, February 2, 1883, in The National Baptist (Philadelphia), February 8, 1883 (c).

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The relationship between pastor and people seems to have gone along harmoniously. At least it did until the brutal beating on the Senate floor of Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner by a South Carolina Congressman. Sumner, adamantly opposed to slavery or any extension of it, entered the debate on the bill admitting Kansas to the Union by giving a two-day speech, "The Crime Against Kansas," May 19 and 20, 1856.¹ Two of his colleagues--Senator Butler of South Carolina and Senator Douglas of Illinois--he denounced in no uncertain terms. Of Senator Butler he said:

The Senator from South Carolina has read many books of chivalry, and believes himself a chivalrous knight, with sentiments of honor and courage. Of course he has chosen a mistress to whom he has made his vows, and who, though ugly to others, is always lovely to him,--though polluted in the sight of the world is chaste in his sight: I mean the harlot Slavery. For her his tongue is always profuse in words. Let her be impeached in character, or any proposition be made to shut her out from the extension of her wantonness, and no extravagance of manner or hardihood of assertion is then too great for this Senator. The frenzy of Don Quixote in behalf of his wench Dulcinea del Toboso is all surpassed.²

Two days later Senator Sumner received a brutal beating with a cane at the hands of a relative of Senator Butler, Preston S. Brooks, Congressman from South Carolina.³ Although there is no record of what the Rev. George Dana Boardman said in his sermon the following Sunday to his South Carolina congregation, the Bible texts on which he preached are suggestive:⁴ "And the Lord said unto Cain, Where is Abel thy brother? And he said, I know not: Am I my brother's keeper? And he said, What hast thou done? the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from

¹Charles Sumner, The Works of Charles Sumner (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1875), IV, [125]-341.

²Ibid., pp. 144f. ³Ibid., pp. 260ff. ⁴Boardman papers, ABHS.

the ground."¹ "On that night could not the king sleep, and he commanded to bring the book of records of the chronicles; and they were read before the king."² It is not difficult to imagine what these texts suggested to a son of New England raised under such anti-slavery men as Sylvanus Boardman and Calvin Newton and taught by Francis Wayland. The initiative for severing the pastoral relationship probably was Boardman's, if the writer of "Historical Sketch of the Barnwell Baptist Church" can be believed: "In June 1856 he resigned the pastorate of the church after seven month's service, because he could not conscientiously live among slaveholders."³ During the brief pastorate he had preached fifty-three sermons and received \$551.00 salary.⁴ Health problems or not, George Dana Boardman returned North to assume a new charge, the Second Baptist Church, Rochester, New York.

3. Second Pastorate, Rochester, New York

One reason for including the Rochester pastorate in the chapter on preparation for the career is that Boardman himself considered it his *Lehrzeit*--apprenticeship.⁵ It was indeed a time of important growth for him. He experienced pastoring one church for eight years. There was sharpening in his thinking and preaching, notably under the tutelage of University of Rochester President Martin B. Anderson. The health problem had to be faced.

a. General Course of the Pastorate.--The Second Baptist Church

¹Genesis 4:9,10. ²Esther 6:1. ³Lide, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁴Preaching record in Boardman papers, ABHS.

⁵Bronk, "George Dana Boardman," p. 2.

[now Baptist Temple] of Rochester, New York, founded 1834, had by 1856 grown to a membership of 469¹ with a Sunday school of 296.¹ Both church and Sunday school continued to grow numerically during Boardman's eight-year pastorate: by 1864 there were 509 members of the church and 828 enrolled in the Sunday school with an average attendance of 614.² He baptized 181 persons--90 in one year--during his tenure.³ In December, 1859, the church edifice was destroyed by fire; a new \$40,000 building replaced it in 1861.⁴ The entire pastorate seems to have been singularly harmonious. On Boardman's departure in 1864 it was reported that the church was "fully united in him indeed almost idolized their pastor"⁵

b. Preaching.--Since preaching so predominated in the career of the Rev. George Dana Boardman, some note must be made of its development during the Rochester years. It was noted above that Boardman considered President Wayland one of the two most important influences on his life; the second of the two was President Martin B. Anderson of the University of Rochester. If Wayland shaped his intellectual and ethical outlook, Anderson molded his "whole ministerial career."⁶ In Boardman's eight-years in Rochester, Dr. Anderson never missed a prayer meeting.⁷ Of

¹Monroe Baptist Association Minutes, 1856 (Rochester, 1856).

²Ibid., 1864. ³Based on Association Minutes, 1856-64.

⁴F. DeWitt Ward, Churches of Rochester (Rochester: Erastus Darrow, 1871), p. 140.

⁵The Evening Express (Rochester), May 2, 1864, (c).

⁶Boardman to Hill, Feb. 27, 1890, in The National Baptist (Philadelphia), March 6, 1890, (c).

⁷A. C. Kendrick, Martin B. Anderson: A Biography (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1895), p. 188 quoting Boardman.

Anderson's influence on his preaching Boardman said:

When I was in delicate health and inexperienced in public duties, Dr. Anderson put around me his strong arm, and kept me from sinking. During my Rochester pastorate, I suppose there was scarcely a Sunday evening, after worship, when he did not invite me to walk with him, talking soothingly about my sermons, delicately pointing out their faults, ingeniously suggesting improvements of method, heartily recognizing what he generously insisted were "good points." I do not believe the instructor ever lived who knew how to make more of a man, mentally and morally, than Teacher Anderson.¹

There are, unfortunately, few examples of Boardman's Rochester sermons available for study. One address--not strictly speaking a sermon--given at several schools during this period displays a highly rhetorical style:

[The] difficulties of Scripture . . . summon a student to grapple with Truths in that spiritual arena wherein genius may achieve her most resplendent trophies. And, though it is only now and then that he wins a victory, yet he feels that, in the purer and more exhilarating air of the Scriptural arena, his heart beats with a firmer and more healthful throb, that his every mental sinew is strung with a manlier vigor, that his every movement is graced with a more perfect elasticity, that his entire spiritual organism is nerved with celestial energy.²

If this sample is indicative of his preaching style, then Sage was correct in calling it "highly rhetorical . . . with easily flowing sentences and fine literary effects"³

In addition to his pulpit work Boardman did considerable lecturing outside the church. Between 1857 and 1861 he gave thirty-one addresses in New York and Massachusetts, receiving a total of \$712.00 for

¹Boardman to Hill, Feb. 27, 1890.

²[Anniversary Address], pp. 8f., in ABHS.

³A. J. Sage, "The Baptist Pulpit of the Nineteenth Century, Part II, Northern," in A. H. Newman, ed., A Century of Baptist Achievement (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1901), p. 382.

these labors.¹

c. Impact on Students.--An important part of the Rochester ministry was Boardman's impact on the students at the University. Philip L. Jones remembered him as "the ideal of all the college students."² Said Jones, "His boyish form, his graceful bearing, his manifest enthusiasm, his evident grip on things, all suggested to them their own future."³ Another student of the time recalled his "winsome personality and his gorgeous eloquence and his dauntless perseverance in work" which fascinated so many young men.⁴ His success in Rochester was a harbinger of what he would do in Philadelphia, especially of his lectures at the University of Pennsylvania.⁵

d. Health Problems and Call to Philadelphia.--The move north to Rochester had done nothing to solve his health problems; if anything the upstate New York climate aggravated them. Mrs. Boardman, too, was "very ill" during most of their residence in New York. Early in 1864 the First Baptist Church of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, extended a call to Boardman to become their pastor.⁶ The Philadelphia church hoped that he might accept "as the climate would be so much more favorable to the health of himself and wife."⁷ He at first declined the call, but on Sunday, May 15, he preached both morning and evening in Philadelphia

¹Noted in "Index Rerum," Boardman papers, ABHS.

²Mrs. George D. Boardman, ed., Life and Light: Thoughts from the Writings of George Dana Boardman with Memorabilia (Philadelphia: Griffith and Rowland Press, 1905), p. 9m.

³Ibid. ⁴Ibid., pp. 8, 9m. ⁵Infra, p. 165.

⁶First Baptist Church, op. cit., p. 299.

⁷"T.S.M.," Christian Watchman and Reflector (Boston), March 24, 1864, p. [3].

and formally accepted the call.¹ When he resigned the Rochester church, not only the congregation, but also the city sensed the loss of "preacher, lecturer, and citizen of prominent ability and repute."²

The road of preparation had led from Tavoy to New England, then briefly to South Carolina, and on to New York; it had taken thirty-six years to make the journey. In 1864 George Dana Boardman was ready for Philadelphia.

¹First Baptist Church, op. cit., p. 300; G. D. Boardman, Sermon Register (unpublished record of sermons preached and other notations, hereinafter cited as Register, in Boardman papers, ABHS), p. 325.

²Ward, op. cit., p. 142.

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CHAPTER III

PHILADELPHIA PASTOR

George Dana Boardman made most his life's contributions in his association with the First Baptist Church of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This pastorate was the framework on which he constructed his career. An adequate picture of Boardman's work must include the setting of his accomplishments and something of the church's history during his tenure.

A. Aim of the Pastorate

With a very clear idea of what he hoped to accomplish, Boardman began his work in Philadelphia. Having already established himself as a preacher of some note, he determined that exposition of the Bible would be his principal aim in the ministry. Accepting the call of the church, he said:

To me the Bible is the one great classic of literature, and I hold its study to be of pre-eminent importance. The dominating ideal of my ministry among you I desire to be to unfold the word of God as written in the two Bibles, the Bible of Scripture and the Bible of Nature"¹

"To unfold the word of God" became the guiding principle of his ministry for the rest of his life. The arena for his achievements in biblical exposition was preaching to his own congregation, not elsewhere.

¹Cited by Edwin T. Darby in Mrs. George Dana Boardman, op. cit., p. 13m.

He counselled his ministerial colleagues to be servants chiefly of the church through preaching, saying:

The pastor in the main is to preach to . . . his church, not to the world. The pastor is to preach to the church, and the church by its character is to preach to the community. . . . The pastor is to extend his force chiefly in preaching to his own church.¹

Boardman not only aimed for ministry concentrated on biblical exposition, but he also accomplished his goal as few other men have. That he was able to do so depended in no small way on the peculiar conditions under which he served the Philadelphia church.

¹Proceedings of the Baptist Autumnal Conference, 1884, pp. 139f.

B. Conditions of the Pastorate

The First Baptist Church allowed its pastor a large measure of freedom from parochial tasks. Although normally preaching three times each week, he did little, if any, pastoral visitation. Upon submitting his resignation, Dr. Boardman noted that a changed community now demanded intensive visitation which he had been neither able nor obligated to do.¹ A fellow pastor once expressed his and others' gratitude and indebtedness to the First Baptist Church for "having made it possible for [Boardman] to withdraw from many of the details of church work, and to devote himself to the prolonged investigation of divine truth."²

If the church provided the pastor a great deal of time for uninterrupted study, it also freed him from another normal ministerial worry: personal financial problems. His beginning annual salary was \$3000.³ At the same time a Boston church of comparable size and prestige was paying its pastor \$1600 a year and \$2000 the next year.⁴ The Boston pastor's salary gradually increased to \$3500 with six weeks allowed for vacation.⁵ Boardman, however, began to receive \$4000 after his second year and by 1877 was receiving \$5000.⁶ Generous vacations were his lot as well. Although he officially became pastor in May, 1864, and began receiving his

¹G. D. Boardman, The Resignation of George Dana Boardman, D.D., . . . Pastor of the First Baptist Church in Philadelphia ([Philadelphia: n.n., 1894]), p. 4. Hereinafter cited as The Resignation.

²George Rees in The Twenty-fifth Anniversary, p. 38.

³First Baptist Church, Minute Book, 1847-77, p. 299.

⁴Dudley Street Baptist Society, Records 1818 to 1886 (in archives of the Dudley Street Baptist Church), pp. 99, 118.

⁵Ibid., passim. ⁶First Baptist Church, Minutes, pp. 339, 570.

salary from that date, he did not commence his actual labors until October 1 of that year.¹ His summer leave was frequently for ten weeks, sometimes even more.²

The church building stood at the northwest corner of Broad and Arch Streets, one of the city's busiest intersections on the edge of the old downtown area.³ Completed in 1856, the Romanesque structure was distinguished by a massive, almost too large, steeple.⁴ The capacious "audience room" on the upper level had a wide center aisle, a half-dome over the chancel, and gallery seats along both sides, and could seat about a thousand.⁵ The street level was occupied by a large Sunday school room.⁶ When Boardman came to the church, the area adjoining it was primarily residential, made up chiefly of "native Americans."⁷ Changes in the make-up of the neighborhood were to be of great consequence to church and pastor over the years.⁸

For nearly all of the thirty years of his service, he had no paid assistant. A Mr. Loxley, who had served as assistant for some thirty years, died early in 1865, and there was no help for Boardman except during 1881 and 1882.⁹ General prosperity and progress in the church without the aid of assistants and the pastor's attention to many details are a silent but eloquent witness to the quality of the church's lay leadership.

¹Ibid., p. 306; Register, p. 325. ²Register, passim.

³Clarence A. Young, The Down-town Church (Ph.D. Thesis, Univ. of Penn., 1912; Lancaster: Intelligencer Printing Co., 1912), p. 27.

⁴Photos in W. W. Keen, ed., The Bi-Centennial Celebration of the Founding of the First Baptist Church of the City of Philadelphia. (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1899), pp. 102-104.

⁵Ibid. ⁶Ibid. ⁷Young, op. cit., pp. 27-29. ⁸Infra, p. 50.

⁹Keen, op. cit., p. 108.

C. The Congregation and Their Pastor

The First Baptist Church of Philadelphia had occupied a position of prominence among Baptists in the United States since its founding in 1698. One of the early Baptist congregations in the country, its strategic location and able pastoral leadership involved it in the founding of what became Brown University, the Baptist Foreign Mission Board, Columbian [now George Washington] University, Bucknell University, and the University of Pennsylvania, and in the preparation and publication of the widely-adopted Philadelphia Confession of Faith.¹

During the latter third of the nineteenth century--Boardman's era--the church appears to have numbered among its members several persons of social, civic, and business prominence. This is not to assert that the church membership occupied any single social stratum but only to say that men of means and influence did play key roles in the life of the congregation. The chairman of the committee which prevailed upon Boardman to come to Philadelphia and president for many years of the church's board of trustees was Stephen A. Caldwell, silversmith, banker, and official of the Reading Railroad and a leader in other business ventures.² He was Dr. Boardman's "endeared personal friend" as well.³ William W. Keen, M.D., LL.D. [Brown], deacon, trustee, and church historian, was in his public life a noted surgeon, scholar, and author.⁴ Another physician,

¹Ibid., pp. 81f., 221, 229, 264.

²The Twenty-fifth Anniversary, p. 5. ³Ibid.

⁴Keen, op. cit., p. 9; Brown University, op. cit., p. 195.

a Dr. Ford, was chairman of the committee charged with persuading Boardman to withdraw his resignation.¹ A Philadelphia dentist, Dr. Edwin T. Darby, was the traveling companion of Boardman on an extended trip to Europe and the Near East.² A number of leading Philadelphians signed a letter urging publication of one of their pastor's outstanding sermons.³

Between pastor and people there generally prevailed sincere mutual esteem and harmony. Boardman had not been in Philadelphia very long before the Madison Avenue Baptist Church of New York City called him to become their pastor; the folks of First Baptist reacted quickly, issuing this statement: "This church cannot contemplate the possibility of losing the ministry of our beloved pastor except as a great calamity"⁴ Dr. Darby perhaps spoke for many others when he said of his own relationship to the pastor:

- Why he liked me, I have never known; why I loved him, you all know. My house has been as free and open to him, as to any member of my own family. My only son bears his honored name. He has baptized my children and has been my pastor and teacher and spiritual guide. He has been my most intimate companion, my dearest friend.⁵

The return from a trip abroad was the occasion of expressions of mutual affection between shepherd and flock.⁶ Each year Dr. Boardman sent "A New Year's Wish for His People," a small card bearing an appropriate

¹The Resignation, p. 5. ²Mrs. G. Boardman, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14m.

³G. Boardman, *An Address . . . April 14, 1865* (Philadelphia: Sherman & Co., 1865), p. [3].

⁴The National Baptist (Philadelphia), Nov. 12, 1868, p. 5.

⁵The Resignation, p. 12.

⁶The National Baptist, Sept. 21, 1871, p. 1.

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Scripture verse and Boardman's signature.¹

Pastor and people shared many momentous occasions. Perhaps one of the most memorable was the national sorrow at the death of Lincoln. Attempting to give words to the general feelings of grief, Boardman said:

Last Friday all was gladness and triumph and festal song and gay festoon. Now all is grief and apprehension and requiem and ebon drapery. Why this awful change? Why this universal suspension of business, this awful stillness of the cities and the hamlets? Why if men appear in the streets, do they walk with slow and measured tread, their hearts failing them through fear, and a grief more crushing than fear? Why from countless spires toll the funeral bells? Why from fort and arsenal and camp and military academy and navy-yard, mournfully boom the half-hour guns? . . . Why this darkness that has fallen in all the land, a darkness so thick that it may be felt? Why this cry that goes up from every hearthstone, a universal piercing cry, such as there was none ever like it, nor can be like it any more? It is because there is not a house in all the land in which there is not one dead. The nation's father has been struck down in all his gentle kingliness.²

They grieved together; they rejoiced together, too, on such occasions as the emancipation proclamation and the end of the war.

The relationship between congregation and minister thus appears to have forwarded Boardman's career. Able leadership and amicable feelings provided a large measure of support for his work.

¹Several samples in FBC archives.

²Quoted in Rose, op. cit., pp. 15f.

D. The Pastor at Work, 1864-94

Photographs of George Boardman made as he began the long Philadelphia ministry portray a bearded young man, very slightly built, quite thin, with straight--almost unkempt--black hair.¹ He was small of stature as well; an 1899 passport noted his height at five feet, six inches.² The frail man whom poor health had plagued in seminary days and during the Rochester years apparently mastered illness's grip on him early in the Philadelphia ministry by means of what he called "the recuperative energies of a wilful nature."³ Said he:

I was overmastered by a desire to do a particular thing, and when that was accomplished I turned to another. I never stopped to consider whether I was physically able to do it, but was simply bound to do it. I never had to screw myself up to do a thing.⁴

His "wilful nature" seems to have done the trick, for in the first twenty years no serious illness laid him aside.⁵ Having overcome, or at least arrested, bodily infirmity, Boardman was able to work hard. The church experienced steady, albeit modest, prosperity.

The First Baptist Church had had no regular pastor for three years prior to Boardman's arrival. His predecessor, Dr. James H. Cuthbert, a Southerner by birth and in sympathies, resigned and left for points south when conflict broke out in 1861.⁶ The new pastor found a substantial church of 481 members and left it thirty years later with a total of 646,

¹Collection of pictures, Boardman papers, ABHS.

²Boardman papers, ABHS. ³Laurens, loc. cit. ⁴Ibid.

⁵First Baptist Church, Pastor's Report, 1884 (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane and Scott, 1884), p. 7.

⁶Keen, op. cit., pp. 105-107.

having baptized 700 persons.¹ Nearly one hundred persons were dismissed to form a new church in 1876.² In seven of the thirty years baptisms exceeded thirty, reaching seventy-one in 1874.³ "Many . . . solemn seasons" of religious awakening brought a large number of persons into the church.⁴ Considering the size and strength of the church, however, the additions were not numerous; Russell Conwell baptized over 6000 persons in his thirty-three years at the Baptist Temple.⁵ Boardman himself felt that the church's real achievement had not been so much in large additions as in the initiation of "ideas and enterprises," such as the American Baptist Missionary Union, work in behalf of the Indians, and the American McAll Association. "True," he said, "our name does not often appear. But we do a great deal of underground work."⁶ His association with these organizations, except for the Missionary Union, was of little importance.⁷

Activity and accomplishment were characteristic of the church program. Four missions were established, three of which became independent churches before Boardman's retirement.⁸ The people of the First Baptist Church gave generously to missionary and charitable causes; for example, in 1866, they contributed over \$13,000, in addition to the local expenses of the church.⁹ Even Boardman's former church in South Carolina, ra-

¹First Baptist Church, Minute Book, passim. ²Keen, op. cit., p. 109.

³First Baptist Church, Minute Book, passim.

⁴The Twenty-fifth Anniversary, pp. 8f.

⁵Agnes Rush Burr, Russell H. Conwell and His Work (Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Co., 1926), p. 211.

⁶The Twenty-fifth Anniversary, pp. 49ff. ⁷Infra, pp. 119ff.

⁸Keen, op. cit., p. 108. ⁹First Baptist Church, Minute Book, p. 366.

vaged by war, received a generous gift soon after conflict ceased.¹ A Young Peoples Baptist Union was organized in 1882--the second one in the country.² A Christian Endeavor Society became part of the program in 1887.³ Members of the church played important parts in such charities as the Baptist Home for the Aged, the Baptist Orphanage, and the Philadelphia Home for Incurables.⁴ Major financial outlays were made in 1873-74 for \$26,000 worth of remodeling and improvements to the church building and to retire \$19,000 in "floating debt."⁵

Two interesting developments in the thinking of the church came about under Dr. Boardman's leadership. Early in his ministry the church agreed to make pews free to strangers on Sunday evenings, although rented pews continued for Sunday morning until after he retired.⁶ In 1883, after many years of discussion on the topic, unfermented wine began to be used for the communion.⁷

The marking of Boardman's completion of twenty-five years in Philadelphia was perhaps also the high point of the entire ministry. In 1889 he received the congratulations of men from several other denominations, accolades from leaders in his own church, and a gift of \$1500 from the

¹Keen, op. cit., p. 187.

²First Baptist Church, (Pastor's Report, 1882 (Philadelphia: William Syckelmore, 1882), p. 8.

³Ibid., 1887 (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scott, 1887), p. 9.

⁴Keen, op. cit., passim. ⁵Ibid., p. 188.

⁶First Baptist Church, Minute Book, Jan. 30, 1867. See Boardman, The Church (Basileia) (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901), p. 134, footnote, in which he questions inter alia the practice of pew rents.

⁷Keen, op. cit., p. 175.

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congregation.¹ His fellow ministers also feted him at a banquet; on that occasion Russell Conwell said that his many involvements prevented him from doing much sermon preparation, so he just read Dr. Boardman's books!² The guest of honor--the only man, it was said, in Philadelphia who was not jealous of Conwell's huge following--had indeed reached the zenith of his popularity.³ The following five years were a period of decline for both pastor and church. Advancing years--he was now past sixty--and evermore frequent illnesses were beginning to take their toll. As early as 1884 he was forced to absent himself from the pulpit while recuperating for seven months in Florida and England.⁴ Two years later another six-week illness prevented him from officiating.⁵ Eye difficulties in 1890 forced him to cancel commencement addresses at Rochester and at Colgate.⁶ A two-month bout with pneumonia faced him in 1893-94.⁷

An indication of decline in the church appears in his own notes in 1891. Prior to that time he kept no record of church attendance figures. From September, 1891, on to the close of his ministry, however, he carefully noted both morning and evening totals.⁸ The numbers are surprising-

¹See The Twenty-fifth Anniversary for complete report.

²See complete transcript of remarks at banquet in unpublished bound volume "The Twenty-fifth Anniversary" (in FBC archives).

³Rose, op. cit., p. 18. ⁴Register, p. 382. ⁵Ibid., p. 388.

⁶The Examiner (New York), June 26, 1890, (c).

⁷Pastor's Report, 1893 (Philadelphia: National Baptist Print, 1893), p. 9.

⁸Register, pp. 400ff.

ly small for a church of 600 members: from September through December, 1891, morning attendance averaged 201, evening 227--the latter helped immensely by a gathering of 640 on December 20 to see the "Illustrated Story of Bethlehem."¹ During the winter of 1893 Boardman initiated an evening series on various personal and social problems which stimulated attendance somewhat, but morning turnout did not improve.² Not far away Philadelphians were standing in line to hear Russell Conwell at the mammoth new [1891] Baptist Temple.³ Not only had Boardman's health declined, but the church's neighborhood had also radically changed. From a white, Anglo-Saxon residential community, it had been taken over by business and rooming houses.⁴ About this time Arch Street and adjacent streets were rapidly becoming "business thoroughfares."⁵ One need not venture far to find the "tenderloin" district which featured a flourishing trade in prostitution.⁶ Not only had there been social decline, but population also was in steady decline from 1880 onward.⁷ Church attendance had suffered at the hands of change, and it had become "almost impossible to maintain much longer . . . a family church."⁸ The Philadelphia pastor had to make a decision during the winter of 1894.

¹Ibid. ²Ibid. ³Burr, op. cit., pp. 201, 206, 211.

⁴Young, op. cit., p. 27. ⁵Ibid. ⁶Ibid., p. 28.

⁷Ibid., p. 29. ⁸The Resignation, p. 9.

E. Resignation

At the close of Sunday services, February 11, 1894, George Dana Boardman gave his congregation a shock by disclosing his intention to lay down his pastoral responsibilities the following May 15, thirty years to the day from his accepting their call.¹ Having pondered the step for many months, he had come to the decision to resign "while in the vigor of . . . mature manhood."² Believing that the church had always needed and especially now "judicious, thorough, vigilant, constant parochial visitation," he was stepping aside for a successor who would specialize in pastoral visitation.³ The church very quickly responded, requesting that he withdraw the resignation; but he was not moved. "That resignation was not a sudden impulse. . . . Nothing that has been said or that can be proposed, however affectionate, can change it."⁴ Still the church persisted, pledging \$1200 in personal subscriptions to pay a pastor's assistant if he would reconsider.⁵ His position, nevertheless, remained, in his words, "unchanged, and . . . unchangeable."⁶ He said, "Since the day I intimated my purpose to resign, there has hardly been an hour in which I have faltered in the conviction that my resignation would be for the best interests of our beloved church."⁷ What had prompted the resignation? He cited four reasons: (1) locality--a changing community required a new approach in the church's ministry; (2) adop-

¹Ibid., p. 4. ²Ibid., p. [3]. ³Ibid., p. 4. ⁴Ibid., pp. 5f.

⁵Ibid., p. 7. ⁶Ibid., p. 8. ⁷Ibid.

tion of needed new methods could come about only by his departure; (3) parish visitation was now absolutely needed; and (4) new movements and new methods required a younger man.¹ Not because Boardman's own work for the Kingdom of God was finished--he was certain that he had much yet to do, and he was right--but because the church needed the change to meet the challenges of a new era, he emphatically asked to be released from his duties. The third time the church reluctantly acceded to his wishes.² Notwithstanding he received scores of letters from members of the church pleading with him to stay on.³

¹Ibid., pp. 9f. ²Ibid., pp. 11f.

³See collection of letters in unpublished bound volume "The Resignation" (FBC archives). This work should not be confused with the published The Resignation cited on p. 40.

F. Honorary Pastor

At the same time the church accepted the resignation they voted to make Dr. Boardman "Honorary Pastor" and set about raising \$10,000 to be invested for the benefit of him and Mrs. Boardman.¹ In a formal pronouncement the church honored him as a man of work, faithfulness, character, largeness of heart, courtesy, learning, and eloquence; as a great expositor, delightful preacher, and upbuilding influence in the community; and as a valued writer.²

As honorary pastor Boardman had no official pastoral duties. He continued, however, as an active member of the church and frequently occupied the pulpit.³ In his honorary capacity he was instrumental in bringing about the consolidation of First Baptist Church and Beth Eden Baptist Church in 1895.⁴ He presided at several of the bi-centennial services held in 1898 and gave one of the major addresses.⁵ Until his death in 1903 the church continued to carry his name and title on the Sunday bulletin.⁶

Other interests occupied his time and energies from 1894 onward. Subsequent chapters will show his attention to world peace in these retirement years and his writing and lecturing activity.⁷

Death came to George Dana Boardman in his seventy-fifth year at Atlantic City, April 28, 1903, after a lingering illness.⁸ Only eighteen

¹The Resignation, pp. 13f. ²Ibid., pp. 16-20. ³Register, passim.

⁴Keen, op. cit., p. 125. ⁵Ibid., pp. 300-307.

⁶There are samples in FBC archives. ⁷Infra, pp. 141ff.

⁸New York Times, April 29, 1903 (c).

persons attended the private funeral service a few days later.¹ A small, simple service was exactly what he had requested. Several years earlier he had told his wife:

I desire to omit all public services--I desire the arrangements for interment to be simply made: a few friends, and the officers of the church, meeting at my house: the 15th chapter of 1st Cor to be read without remarks, and a prayer, not exceeding one minute to be offered. At the grave, I desire my dearest friend to read the 4th chapter of I Thess. commencing at the 13th verse.²

His departure was entirely in keeping with his career: full of hope and optimism.

The most appropriate summary that can be made of the work of the Philadelphia pastor is that inscribed on a large plaque mounted at one side of the chancel in the present building of the First Baptist Church in Philadelphia. Erected following his death, it reads:

1828 + 1903

This tablet is erected
in loving memory of
George Dana Boardman
D.D., LL.D.

who for thirty years was the pastor of
this church and for nine succeeding
years until his death its honorary pastor
1864 - 1903
as a PASTOR his chief work was the upbuilding
of character
as a CHRISTIAN his sympathies embraced all who
love the Lord Jesus Christ
as a SCHOLAR he made all learning tributary
to the exposition of the scriptures
as a CITIZEN he was an uplifting force in the
community
as a MAN his saintly character and blameless
life made him beloved of all men.³

¹The Press (Philadelphia), May 2, 1903 (c).

²Dictated to her, Dec. 19, 1886. Boardman papers, ABHS.

³Keen, op. cit., frontispiece.

With the aim, conditions, relationships, and general course of the
pastorate in view and something of the church's development under Dr.
Boardman's leadership understood, succeeding chapters will be able to
delve more deeply into the various aspects of his career.

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CHAPTER IV

UNFOLDER OF THE WORD OF GOD

George Dana Boardman was chiefly a preacher. While it is true that he advocated Christian unity and worked for world peace and other causes, yet in all that he did his contributions were primarily in the form of sermons--both spoken and written. It is necessary, therefore, to examine in some detail his work as a preacher, not so much what he had to say--later chapters will deal with that--but how he found something to say and a persuasive way to say it.

A. Chief Aim of Ministry

The previous chapter called attention to Dr. Boardman's aim in the ministry, namely to reveal God's will as it has been made known to man in the Bible and in nature.¹ Biblical exposition based on intensive study of Scripture he held to be the primary task of the preacher. The pulpit was no place for an entertainer; Boardman said to a young minister friend, thinking perhaps of Russell Conwell, "Young man, when you preach, preach sermons, and not tell [*sic*] stories."² Nor was the pulpit the place for philosophical meanderings. In a sermon on immortality he asserted:

¹Supra, p. 38.

²Bronk, op. cit., p. 3.

When we come into our pulpits, it is not to soothe our listeners with brilliant conjectures, hopeful surmises, elaborate attempts at demonstration concerning immortality--that kind of preaching we leave to heathen teachers and pagan philosophers in Christian lands. But when we come into our pulpits, it is to give our listeners positive, divine information about the hereafter.¹

Speaking to seminarians, Boardman urged them in their preaching to avoid spinning complicated theories and to deal with facts as the Bible presents them and said:

Would you move your friend to deeds of mercy? Enlarge not upon the causes and consequences of poverty: but tell him that a poor starving wretch is dying at his door. . . . Would you lead a sinner to Christ? Talk not to him of the theory of human depravity, and the philosophical necessity of a future state of punishment, and the admirable philosophy of the Plan of Redemption: but tell him earnestly, just what the Bible tells him, that he is a sinner--that there is a hell and that he is forever lost, unless he looks for help to Christ who did die to save him.²

Boardman was not unaware of his preaching gifts and attempted to make the most of them for the good of all. He told an interviewer, "The true way for a man to help society is to cultivate his own idiosyncrasy, but to feel that in so doing he is seeking the good of society."³ To an uncommon degree he was able to cultivate his gifts and attain his goal of unfolding the word of God, not only because of his freedom from parochial tasks, but also because of an ability to spend long hours at work. An observer noted that Dr. Boardman was often in his study the entire day and evening.⁴

¹Immortality, a Sermon . . . Preached before the North Philadelphia Baptist Association, October 1, 1891 (n.p., n.n., n.d.), p. 14.

²"Fact Preaching" (unpublished, undated sermon MS in Boardman papers, ABHS), pp. 4f.

³Laurens, loc. cit.

⁴Unidentified newspaper clipping in Boardman papers, ABHS.

B. View of Scripture: the Two Bibles

The book to which Boardman submitted himself in all his study was the Bible, or as he often put it, "the two Bibles," or "a Bible of two parts or volumes," nature and Scripture.¹ Issuing a warning against polytheism, he said, "Deity speaks to us alike in His Words and in His Works, in Scripture and in Nature."² The volume of Scripture has its authority in the realm of truths and in particular "the Truth of truths," God himself; the volume of nature, on the other hand, deals in facts, matters of observation and induction. While science, reading the Bible of nature, can disclose "the God of law, of force, of motion, of phenomena," only the Bible of Scripture unveils "the God who pardons, loves, transfigures, whose moral secrets are beyond the horizon of scientific observation. . . ."³ Nevertheless, the facts of science can be transformed into truths in Jesus Christ who is The Truth.⁴

The two Bibles are not contradictory since they issue from the same source. Because they are "mutually complementary," a man would be "stupid to search for discrepancies."⁵ Science and religion, Boardman wrote, "are complementary, science being the natural side of religion, religion being the spiritual side of science."⁶ Apparent contradictions, therefore,

¹Studies in the Creative Week (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1878), pp. 14f.

²Ibid. ³"Facts and Truths" in Mrs. G. Boardman, op. cit., p. 20.

⁴Ibid.

⁵"The Transformed Word" (unpublished sermon notes in Boardman papers, ABHS), p. 1.

⁶Ethics of the Body (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1903), pp. 10f.

between science and religion bothered Boardman scarcely at all. Since he held the Bible's infallibility to be chiefly in the "realm of truths"--not necessarily in minor details of fact--he was not much concerned "by circumstantial or surface difficulties" encountered on the pages of the Bible.¹ In connection with the Genesis story he said:

God knows that I believe that His Scripture is inspired, and that I bow before it as reverently as ever did the devoutest believer. And yet . . . I do not believe that the Creation Record is to be taken literally. . . . The words describing creation [are] figurative, or parabolic. And parable is the highest form of truth.²

He was more concerned about the spiritual meaning of the text than in encouraging belief "in a verbally inspired history."³ More important to him was the essential contained in the incidental, the truth clothed in facts, the kernel concealed in the husk. The antitheses of essential-incidental, truth-fact, and spirit-letter are important and oft-recurring themes in Boardman's works.

Nature, he believed, had a peculiar divine function. It was no accident that man's "daily bodily life [is] a constant reminder, and prophecy, and symbol, of his daily spiritual life;" the natural order was, in fact, created to elucidate the spiritual.⁴ In his preaching Boardman frequently used analogies from nature to explain spiritual truths, insisting that "nature's loftiest office is to interpret to us the spiritual

¹The Two Bibles (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, n.d.), pp. 14f.

²Studies in the Creative Week, pp. 19f.

³Walter Rauschenbusch in Mrs. G. Boardman, op. cit., p. 20m.

⁴Studies in the Creative Week, pp. 25-27.

world; echoing in her own tones of glee and wail the varying voices of the invisible world above, around, beneath, within us."¹ He looked on nature as the "great storehouse of illustration and demonstration," and said, "Instead of eyeing 'science' askance, let us boldly court her alliance."² In a published sermon, Nature a Pledge of Grace, he took as his starting point the movement of the planet Venus, which was, he said, an example of nature's stability and an illustration of the stability of natural laws; the stability of natural laws points to the stability of the moral law with its implications for human conduct.³ In an article, "The Just Scales," he employed the concept of balance so evident in the physical universe to undergird and illumine his discussion of the "moral meaning" of balance in coinage, world trade, wages, property, humanity, and character.⁴ His little book on ethics is only the first half of what he had hoped to write before his strength failed. The unfinished latter half he tentatively entitled "The Body as a Symbol or Analogue," and assigned one chapter heading each to deal with the analogue of the head, the eye, the ear, the tongue, etc.⁵ The foregoing examples of Boardman's interest in and use of the natural world to clarify spiritual truths are but a few among a great many found in his preaching and writing.

¹"Parable of Healing" (unpublished MS of lecture given at Chicago, April 21, 1895), p. 5.

²"The Method of Jesus Christ as Teacher," God's Word Man's Light and Guide (New York: American Tract Society, 1877), p. 215.

³Nature a Pledge of Grace: a Sermon Suggested by the Transit of Venus, December 6, 1882 (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scott, n.d.), passim.

⁴New Princeton Review, I (March, 1886), 200 et passim.

⁵Ethics of the Body, pp. 153f.

With respect to the Bible of Scripture he recognized that there had been progressive revelation. The New Testament is more important than the Old, not in the sense of contradiction but of fulfillment; the laws of the Old Testament, although of divine origin, were given "in a rudimentary, embryonic state" and were "not all of divine morality" nor a "perfect system of ethics."¹ Only in the New Covenant as effected by Jesus Christ is the revelation complete.²

¹The Kingdom (Basileia) (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899) p. 76.

²Ibid., p. 77.

C. Homiletic Method

1. Exposition, the General Rule

Most of George Boardman's preaching was expository, i.e., the essential points of the sermon stem more or less directly from one or more Bible passages and attempt to make plain the meaning of the text and apply it to contemporary needs. Thus the preaching and the preacher serve the Bible, always aiming to submit to its truth, and not otherwise.

Unfolding the word of God requires careful preparation. Early in his Philadelphia ministry Boardman laid out a general plan of consecutive Bible study which served as the basis of virtually all of his sermonic effort.¹ Once the general outline of study had been established, he did not have to keep deciding on what to preach; "the details chose me," he said.² Having a general outline of study saved him frustration and "vacillation."³ In actual preparation for a sermon he believed firmly in "the consecration of the blank sheet," i.e., an open Bible, an open heart and mind, and a blank sheet of paper ready for noting the insights

¹"Pulpit Preparation" (unpublished lecture notes in Boardman papers, ABHS), p. 1.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

which came to him.¹ He advocated reading the Bible in the original text as a vital part of preparing to preach.² As the study progressed, the first and most important step was to discover the purpose of the Bible passage and to state the objective of the potential exposition; "clearness of objective is fundamental because it controls all intermediate steps."³ Once the objective was clearly fixed, he recommended that the exposition follow the text closely, saying, "Cleave according to [the] grain:--Better God's winding river than man's straight canal:--vivisection [is] apt to end in dissection."⁴ An example of his method is found in "The Method of Jesus Christ," based on the words immediately following the Sermon on the Mount:

And it came to pass, when Jesus had ended these sayings, the people were astonished at his doctrine: For he taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes.⁵

The sermon has two major divisions to show Jesus' method as a teacher: (1) How Jesus did not teach: rabbinically, systematically, or rhetorically, i.e., "not as the scribes;" (2) How Jesus did teach: authoritatively, with conscious authority, dealing in eternal verities, appealing to nature, and with the authority of intuition and character, i.e., "as one having authority." This sermon--originally preached to a gathering of Sunday school teachers--leads to three concluding thoughts for those who would teach today: the church as Christ's successor as teacher should imitate his method; intimacy with Christ is the secret of authority; a good teacher must always be a learner.⁶ Another example of "cleaving according to the grain" is found in the sermon "Much

¹Ibid. ²Ibid. ³Ibid. ⁴Ibid. ⁵Matthew 7:28,29.

⁶"The Method of Jesus Christ," passim.

More," an exposition of Romans 5:10, "For it, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by ~~the~~ death of his Son, much more, being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life." Boardman divided his sermon into (1) the reminiscence of war ("enemies"), peace ("reconciled"), and the means of peace ("death"); (2) the prophecy of salvation--forensic, present, and future salvation ("we shall be saved")--and the means of salvation ("by his life"); and (3) the argument which proceeded:

from greater to smaller, from more difficult to less, . . . from most improbable to most probable, from Deity entombed to Deity enthroned. If a dying, defeated Jesus reconciled God's foe, a risen triumphant Jesus will save God's friend.¹

Boardman's favorite method of structuring a sermon, so he said, was first to give the meaning of the Bible passage for those to whom it first was written or spoken and then to give its meaning for the present day.² In this method, he felt, the "incidentals--of time, place, culture, verbiage--drop out," and the "essentials" of truth and eternal life stand.³ The Story of Balaam well illustrates this method.⁴ The first division of the sermon is "The Story Itself," little more than a retelling of the Old Testament story. The second division consists of "The Warnings of the Story," practical admonitions deduced from Balaam's experience.⁵ Very similar is the simple outline used in several lectures of Studies in the Creative Week. First, the explanation of the passage--it reminds one of the Puritan preacher's "opening"--was given, and then the "Moral Mean-

¹"Much More," Baptist Quarterly Review, VIII (April, 1886), 247f.

²"Pulpit Preparation," p. 2. ³Ibid.

⁴The Story of Balaam, a Sermon . . . November 22, 1885 (Philadelphia: W. Syckelmore, 1886), p. 22.

⁵Ibid., passim.

ing of the Passage"--again similar to the Puritan's "uses."¹ "The Genesis of Order," the third lecture in The Creative Week, is here summarized to illustrate this method of Boardman. Under "Explanation of the Passage" he considered first "The Primeval Chaos," discussing whether it was the remains of an earlier world or simply unorganized matter and using the "confirmations of science" to bolster his position.² Continuing the explanation, he dealt with the "Organizing Energy, or the Breath of God," which brought order out of the primeval chaos and was the origin of life.³ Turning then to the "moral meaning," Boardman pointed out that all life--physical, intellectual, or moral--is initially in a state of chaos and in need of organizing.⁴ The "same Breath of God" is still the organizing force, for "disorder cannot unravel itself into order; Chaos cannot evolve itself into Cosmos, . . . Only the Spirit of God can organize chaos."⁵ This, in fact, is what God is now doing to bring about an orderly growth and progress in all spheres of life.⁶

Never absent from Boardman's expositions was the concern to make the Bible and its teachings applicable to the lives of his hearers. The Story of Balaam, noted above, deals in its second division entirely with warnings.⁷ The lectures in The Creative Week nearly all have "a word of entreaty" or "personal exhortation" by which Boardman sought to make biblical truth influence the conduct of individuals.⁸ Walter Rauschen-

¹Studies in the Creative Week, passim; on Puritan preaching see W. Haller, The Rise of Puritanism (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), chap. iv, "The Rhetoric of the Spirit," pp. 128-72. Whether Boardman was conscious of the similarity is uncertain.

²The Creative Week, pp. 47-52. ³Ibid., pp. 52-59. ⁴Ibid., pp. 59f.

⁵Ibid., p. 61. ⁶Ibid., p. 62. ⁷Supra, p. 63.

⁸See e.g., pp. 63, 81.

busch asserted correctly that Boardman always made application "to the actual needs of life."¹ Most, if not all, of his preaching moved toward the practical. His own classification of some of his published sermons separated them into "exegetical," "ethical," "educational," "irenic," and "biographical."² This division into categories ought not, however, to obscure the fact that in virtually every sermon he dealt with some aspect of Christian conduct; in one sense of the word, practically all his preaching was "ethical."

2. Outstanding Exceptions

The greater portion of Boardman's preaching was expository, dependent for its content and often its structure on a particular passage of Scripture. Among his sermons, however, there were a number of outstanding exceptions to this rule. These exceptions should not be thought of as non-biblical or in any sense contradicting his ideal of unfolding the word of God. The sermons and lectures not strictly expository are exposition in the larger sense of dealing with some biblical truth or theme. His preaching never drifted from its secure mooring in the Bible. Even in his retirement years, when many of his contemporaries were following the lead of liberalism, the "progressive" Boardman could say, "I am one of those old-fashioned students who believe that . . . the Bible is still true, and that it has yet many a fresh and authoritative lesson to teach even the swiftly advancing twentieth century."³

¹W. Rauschenbusch, "The Literary Work of George Dana Boardman (unpublished MS, dated May 5, 1903, in Boardman papers, ABHS), p. 5.

²Handwritten note in Boardman papers, ABHS.

³"Corporate Society" (unpublished MS of lectures given first in 1894, in Boardman papers, ABHS), p. 8.

Some outstanding exceptions to the general rule of expository sermons are The Disarmament of Nations, The Parliament of Religions, The Discovery of America, and Martin Luther.¹ Generally speaking these sermons were all given on special occasions, a fact which accounts in part for their non-expository character.

¹The Disarmament of Nations, Address delivered . . . March 4, 1890 (n.p., n.n., n.d.); The Parliament of Religions, an Address before the Philadelphia Conference of Baptist Ministers, October 23, 1893 (Philadelphia: n.n., 1893); The Discovery of America, An Address delivered on Columbus Day, October 21 [sic], 1892 (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scott, 189 [sic]); Martin Luther, A Sermon . . . delivered November 11, 1883 (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scott's Printing House, 1883).

D. Preaching Style

The previous section showed how Boardman developed the content and structure of his sermons. The way in which he actually presented his message--choice of words, rhetorical devices, and manner of delivery--will be treated in the present section.

It has been said that the very elegant style which characterized Boardman's Rochester preaching was forsaken when he moved to Philadelphia. He allegedly "chose a more mature style, in which elegance of expression was strictly subordinated to clearness and vigor of thought."¹ An earlier chapter offered one extract from the few available materials from the Rochester years which is unquestionably full of flourish and high rhetoric.² That there was a shift toward clarity and directness may be seen in one of his first Philadelphia sermons, Civil Government, a Divine Ordinance, preached just prior to the crucial 1864 national election. He said,

It is a glorious thing that at last we have a Government that dares to admit, even on paper, that Freedom is not altogether a question of complexion, and that wherever God has put a human soul, there he has put a freeman.³

Perhaps the change from rhetoric to directness was more evolutionary than revolutionary, however, for he still went on occasional flights of fancy--at least according to the tastes of a century later--whenever it suited his purpose. For example, he referred to the Beatitudes of Mat-

¹Sage, op. cit., p. 382.

²Supra, p. 35; "rhetoric" here means ornate language.

³Civil Government, a Divine Ordinance. A Discourse . . . November 6, 1864 (Philadelphia: Ringwalt & Brown, printers, 1864), p. 23.

threw 5 as the "eight-columned propylaeum of the Acropolis of the Basileia of God" and to Jesus as "the triple-tiaraed Prince of Peace."¹

1. "The Sacred Use of Words"

Whether he was direct or flowery, George Dana Boardman believed that words were a gift of God to "serve as the shrine and organ and disburser of truth."² Perceiving in language a tremendous, even immortal power, he said,

If . . . the scarcely audible rustle of an unconscious aspen leaf sets in inexorable motion atom after atom--from leaf to tree, from tree to earth, from earth to star, till the whole material creation responds in agitation--think you that a word, however 'idle,' spoken by conscious, responsible man, will ever die away?"³

Since words possess a kind of immortality, one dare not put his "thought into coarse, ill-fitting, degraded 'slang.'"⁴ In his own use of words he sought to exemplify what he preached to others. Responding to a compliment on a particularly choice portion of one of his books, he said, "Yes; it took me twenty years to write that paragraph."⁵ Sometimes he would lay the whole burden of a sermon on the keen distinction between two words, e.g., the difference between "organization" and "organism" in the discussion of the unity of the Church.⁶

¹The Kingdom (Basileia), pp. 48, 55.

²"Forms and Figures" in Mrs. G. Boardman, op. cit., p. 44.

³"The Sacred Use of Words" in Mrs. G. Boardman, op. cit., p. 88.

⁴Ibid. ⁵Unidentified newspaper clipping in Boardman papers, ABHS.

⁶The Church (Ecclesia), p. 146.

Perhaps no one made a more studied and effective use of the adjective--or "epithet," as Rauschenbusch called it--in speaking and writing than Boardman did; some might call his usage labored and affected.¹ Whether or not one favors his fondness for adjectives, he almost has to admit that they are often felicitously chosen, as this paragraph from The Problem of Jesus will show:

See how Jesus has influenced preachers; for instance, John the golden-mouthed, Bernard the enthusiastic, Savonarola the reformer, Tauler the mystical, Luther the heroic, Calvin the intellectual, Knox the dauntless, Hooker the judicious, Taylor the exuberant, Baxter the suave, Bunyan the allegorical, Edwards the profound, Fenelon the devout, Massillon the oratorical, Whitefield the impassioned, Wesley the zealous, Hall the eloquent, Evans the dramatic, Schleiermacher the many-sided, Channing the philanthropic, Irving the eccentric, Finney the searching, Lacordaire the intense, Newman the patristic, Robertson the chivalric, Simpson the spiritual, Bushnell the suggestive, Beecher the progressive, Spurgeon the conservative, Phillips Brooks the manly, Martineau the philosophical, Moody the sensible, Parker the courageous, Hale the eclectic, John Hall the consecrated, Cuyler the sympathetic, Henry C. Potter the ecclesiastical statesman.²

In one word he attempted, often successfully, to characterize the man. The foregoing extract is but one among a great many examples of a common characteristic of his preaching.

2. Rhetorical Devices

In addition to the words themselves Boardman used other means to impress his thoughts upon the minds of the listeners. One of these devices was "a love of antithesis,"³ The trait is everywhere evident, as e.g., in The Church:

¹Rauschenbusch, "The Literary Work," p. 3.

²pp. 43f.

³Rauschenbusch, "The Literary Work," p. 3.

Why, then, has the church . . . failed? . . . She has misappropriated her resources, substituting her own methods for the divine. For example, she has substituted churchianity for Christianity; by-laws for constitution; machinery for spirituality; competition for cooperation; gardening for farming; refectory for reformatory; knowledge for wisdom; prejudgment for docility; resolutions for enterprises; rubric for service; symbols for essence; sects for unity; egoism for mankind; in short, herself for her Master.¹

Rauschenbusch also noted Boardman's characteristic use of "prolonged enumerations."² These took a number of forms. Sometimes he would reel off a list of names, as in the quotation on the previous page. At other times, he would heap up antitheses, as in the extract just given. A favorite device was to make an alphabetic list either of persons or things, as in Ethics of the Body:

See how many different things [the human hand] can do. For example: The hand can--

Aid a child,
Beat a drum,
Carve a goose,
Draw a tooth,
Etch a scene,
Fly a kite,
Grasp a hand,
Hold a pen,
.
Turn a key,
Use a hoe,
Vote a grab,
Wind a clock,

as for X, Y, Z, they are unknown potentialities. . . .³

The Problem of Jesus has for its basic structure a combination of enumerations. The person of Jesus is characterized in an extended list of ad-

¹The Church, p. 47. ²Loc. cit.

³Ethics of the Body, pp. 22-4.

jectives; the influence of Jesus on men is traced in alphabetical order --apologists, artists, biblicists, biographers, etc.--with long lists of names under each heading.¹

Anecdotes found almost no place in Boardman's preaching and writing. His illustrations consisted mostly of brief quotations from the classics or from English writers, chiefly Tennyson and Shakespeare.² Long enumerations of names, by their suggestiveness, could and did take the place of stories, e.g., in "The Church of the Past:"

How illustrious many of these Christians were . . . will appear if I merely mention their names, following the alphabetical order, and assigning but one name to each letter: Martin B. Anderson, John Bunyan, William Carey, Henry Dunster, Christmas Evans, Andrew Fuller, John Gill, Robert Hall, George B. Ide, Adoniram Judson, Benjamin Keach, [etc.].³

Analogies from nature served Boardman frequently to illumine a sermon, e.g., in "Archetypal Forms and Telic Figurations:" the "Convertibility of Forces and Conservation of Energy" has its parallel "in the sphere of Morals. There is such a thing as metempsychosis of Christian service. . . Moral Force, however versatile the guises it assumes, is indestructible."⁴ Perhaps his commonest illustrations were Bible quotations and allusions. Total immersion in biblical study is evident on page after page of Epiphanies of the Risen Lord.⁵

In delivery Boardman sometimes used a manuscript, sometimes brief notes, sometimes no notes at all; in the Boardman papers there are com-

¹The Problem of Jesus, pp. 12-14, 28-48.

²See the indexes to The Kingdom, p. 348, and Creative Week, p. 338.

³In Keen, op. cit., p. 259. ⁴Appended to Creative Week, p. 308.

⁵New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1878.

plete manuscripts, not all of which were composed for publication, such as the lecture "The Graphic Art" and the address to medical students, "Parable of Healing."¹ Occasionally, at least, he took a complete manuscript into the pulpit. More often he appears to have had a page or two of notes in his own version of shorthand, as in "The Way, The Truth, The Life:" "Jes had just sed--I go to prepar a plac for you, & if I go & prepar a plce for you, I come agan, & will recev yu unto myself: thatwher I am ye may be also. . . ."² An anonymous observer wrote that Boardman seldom spoke "verbatim," which could mean either that he rarely wrote out a sermon in full and read it, or that he rarely committed a sermon to memory, or both.³ The same reporter added, "This saves him a great deal of time, and is one of the secrets explaining his capacity to do a prodigious amount of work."⁴ There are a few reports that Boardman occasionally preached with no notes at all, e.g., at Newton Centre, Massachusetts, where, it was said, "The discourse, delivered without a manuscript, although evidently prepared in all its parts, was a clear and brilliant exhibition of the speaker's thought. . . ."⁵

According to one eyewitness Boardman's manner of delivery was "quiet, almost to the extreme," giving the impression of "timidity," with "few and simple" gestures.⁶ The same listener was impressed with the preacher's

¹Both unpublished, in Boardman papers, ABHS.

²Unpublished notes in Boardman papers, ABHS, p. 1.

³Unidentified newspaper clipping, Boardman papers, ABHS. ⁴Ibid.

⁵The National Baptist (Philadelphia), July 26, 1868.

⁶"Rev. George D. Boardman, D.D.," Our Church Homes, Oct., 1888 (c).

"truthfulness, fairness, clearness, and depth of conviction," but somewhat amazed at the small congregation and their coldness to the visitor.¹ Another critic assessed Boardman this way:

The secret of his power does not lie in pretentious appearances or pretentious ways. . . . He is a scholar more than an orator. He is more of a writer than a speaker, yet there are times in his delivery when he reveals surprising and entrancing power.²

Not long before retiring from the Philadelphia church Boardman shared his views of the future of preaching: "I believe that preaching as oratory is passing away. Preaching as teaching will continue to be a growing power."³ To judge from the content of his sermons as well as the impression made on his hearers, he was himself a harbinger of the new day in preaching.

¹Ibid.

²"Hesperus," Christian Times and Witness, Jan. 29, 1866, (c).

³Laurens, loc. cit.

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E. "The Wednesday Evening Lectures"

Boardman singled out one feature of his long ministry as the most outstanding: "the Wednesday evening lectures."¹ Early in his career he set out to make a detailed analytical study of the entire New Testament. This study resulted in the weeknight lectures which began November 17, 1866, although in the published list of studies they date from October, 1864.² Over the course of eighteen years the entire New Testament was covered and the Old Testament in seven more.³

The plan--"a cherished ideal"--was to give a complete course in "biographical theology."⁴ First, the life of Christ was studied, using a harmony of the Gospels, and then the life of the Church, based on the Acts and Epistles.⁵

The lectures were "the characteristic feature of his ministry in Philadelphia," said Boardman.⁶ They and the study underlying them were doubtless the seed-bed of his Sunday preaching, other lecturing, and published works. His thorough absorption in the Bible gave him a constant source of suggestion and direction. The notes for many of the lectures were put into small notebooks where the material was immediately ready for use again.⁷

¹"Closing Commentary on the New Testament" (unpublished MS, April 5, 1882, in Boardman papers, ABHS), p. 23.

²Register, p. 329; Titles of a Pastor's Course of Wednesday Evening Lectures on the New Testament (Philadelphia: Chandler Printing Co., 1882), p. [3]. Hereinafter cited as Titles 1882.

³Ibid.; Keen, op. cit., p. 114. ⁴Titles 1882, pp. [3], 4.

⁵Ibid. ⁶Ibid. 711 of these notebooks are in Boardman's papers.

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As a rule the Bible studies were given on Wednesday evenings about nine months a year, although some were given as Sunday sermons.¹ Over the years he claimed to have covered every word of the New Testament, and that may have been no exaggeration.² For example, he devoted six weeks to I Corinthians 15, eight weeks to Romans 8, fourteen weeks to the Sermon on the Mount, and five weeks to Galatians 3.³ He estimated that each of the 931 lectures had averaged fifty minutes and that the whole series would have amounted to "sixty-four duodecimo volumes of 350 pages each," had they been published.⁴

Not many of the studies were printed as such. The Call of Samuel, the only Wednesday lecture identified as such to be printed--so far as is known--follows the familiar pattern of "The Story" and "The Lessons;" the thrust is very practical, dealing with vocation and the will of God.⁵ Other lectures did make their way into print indirectly. The two books, Studies in the Model Prayer and Studies in the Mountain Instruction, had their beginnings in the Wednesday lectures.⁶ In fact, the Wednesday studies were probably the source of most of what Boardman eventually published. The small notebooks in which he put the studies contain the original draft of Model Prayer, as well as the week-by-week notes.

When the New Testament course of lectures had been completed, Dr. Boardman published only the titles and corresponding Bible references for

¹Register, passim; Titles 1882, passim. ²Titles 1882, p. [3].

³Ibid., passim. ⁴Mrs. G. Boardman, op. cit., p. 19m.

⁵The Call of Samuel . . . Feb. 16, 1887 ("Wednesday Evening Studies, n. 816") (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scott, 1887).

⁶(New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1879) and (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1881) respectively.

the entire series. He did so for three reasons: (1) to offer to all an "analytical bird's-eye view of the New Testament," (2) to provide "a reservoir of themes from which to draw topics for definite meditations," and (3) to give "a possible source of cheer to our younger pastors in their efforts to study the New Testament systematically."¹ When he had completed the Old Testament course, he issued a second larger edition of the titles.² The series for Galatians 3 will illustrate the form in which they appeared:

The Telling Reminiscence	(Galatians iii, 1-9)
The Divine Curse-Bearer	(Galatians iii, 10-14)
The Solemn Covenant	(Galatians iii, 15-18)
The Office of the Law	(Galatians iii, 19-24) ³
The Sonship in Christ	(Galatians iii, 25-29) ³

To refer to the Titles as "a whole library of exegesis" is perhaps to give them more than their due.⁴ Nevertheless, the many to whom Boardman sent copies were generous in their praise and gratitude; he evidently treasured the replies which he bound together for permanent safekeeping.⁵ The Titles were also printed by the American Sunday School Union as Topical Index of the Scriptures; in this form they could be of assistance far beyond the small circle at the church.⁶

In retrospect he said of the Wednesday evening course, "It is my real life-work since I have been with you in Philadelphia. And it is part of your kindness, beloved, in relieving me largely from pastoral visitation, that I have been enabled to achieve this work."⁷ He believed that what

¹Titles 1882, p. 4.

²Titles of a Pastor's Course of Weekly Lectures on the Holy Bible (Philadelphia: Times Printing House, n.d.).

³Ibid., p. 22. ⁴Mrs. G. Boardman, op. cit., p. 18m.

⁵In FBC archives. ⁶"Closing Commentary," p. 23. ⁷Titles 1882, p. 4.

he had done was unique, "rarely . . . accomplished in the ordinary course of pastoral service."¹ He does not seem to have sought to published the long course of studies. One reason seems to be that he used the Wednesday series as his source of supply and suggestion for preaching and writing. To peruse the notebooks in which he put many of the studies is to journey through familiar terrain: whole sermons, even major portions of some of his books are there in seed form.

¹Titles 1882, p. 4.

F. Preaching and Lecturing Outside the Church

Boardman's preaching labors were by no means confined to his own pulpit. He frequently exchanged pulpits with other ministers.¹ As a preacher for denominational gatherings, he was often in demand, giving the annual sermon at 1869 Baptist "May meetings" in Boston.²

His public lectures in Philadelphia drew attentive crowds. Beginning January 8, 1878, and continuing each Tuesday noon for fourteen weeks, he delivered Studies in the Creative Week.³ These lectures had originated as Sunday evening sermons which Boardman was persuaded "by eminent citizens, prerepresenting various branches of the Church, and various professions," to present publicly.⁴ In 1880 he gave a free course on ethics at Association Hall in the city; these lectures formed the greater portion of his Studies in the Mountain Instruction.⁵ The crowds for this latter course were not as large as they had been for the earlier one; nevertheless, one reporter said, "I do not think there is another man in the city that could have gathered and held an audience of 600 people during the noon hour of election day."⁶

¹Register, passim.

²The Examiner and Chronicle (New York), May 20, 1869.

³Studies in the Creative Week, p. [5].

⁴Ibid.

⁵Studies in the Mountain Instruction (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1881), p. [5].

⁶"Ernest," The Standard (Chicago), November 25, 1880 (c).

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The administration of the University of Pennsylvania requested that Boardman give "a series of Sunday Afternoon Addresses upon Religious Topics" to the student body; in the fall of 1888 he gave The Ten Commandments.¹ The original suggestion for the series had come from Boardman himself in a letter to University Provost William Pepper the previous year.² The lectures enjoyed a favorable reception and were published. Dr. Henry C. Vedder of Crozer Theological Seminary gave the book a very favorable review, considering it the author's best effort to date.³

Single addresses were delivered at a great variety of places over

¹The Ten Commandments (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1889), p. [5].

²Boardman to Pepper, Dec. 13, 1887 (original in Pepper MSS in rare book department of University of Pennsylvania library).

³Baptist Quarterly Review, XII (July, 1890), 260.

the years, e.g., The Home Missionary Society for the Spread of the Gospel, Relief of the Worthy Poor, and Care of Destitute Children,¹ Chestnut Street Seminary,² Historical Society of Pennsylvania,³ University of Lewisburg,⁴ Drexel Institute,⁵ and Hamilton Theological Seminary.⁶

After retiring from the pastorate he spent much of his time lecturing, chiefly on ethics. The lectures on "Corporate Society" were first given in Philadelphia in 1894 and repeated elsewhere, e.g., Chicago, Colorado Springs, and Chataqua.⁷

The foregoing section has not attempted to give an account of all or even the most important speaking Boardman did outside his own pulpit, but merely to give examples. Subsequent chapters will give further details on his outside speaking as it bears upon their respective topics.⁸

¹[Address to the Home Mission Society, January 20, 1889], Report of 53rd Anniversary of the Home Mission Society, for the Spread of the Gospel, Relief of the Worthy Poor, and Care of Destitute Children, pp. 23-7.

²Address . . . to the Class of 1880 ([Philadelphia]: Ashmead Printing, n.d.)

³Early Printing in the Middle Colonies (n.p., n.n., n.d.).

⁴The Hardening of Pharoah's Heart (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scott's Printing House, 1883).

⁵"A Plea for Industrial Education," reported in unidentified newspaper clipping, Boardman papers, ABHS.

⁶The Two Bibles. ⁷Mrs. G. Boardman, op. cit., p. 33.

⁸Infra, pp. 132ff.; 150ff.; 163ff.

G. Published Sermons

Many of the sermons and addresses found their way into print--singly and in collections. Some were published upon request of the congregation, e.g., Civil Government, a Divine Ordinance.¹ Some were taken over by the Baptist publication agency for denominational use as tracts, e.g., Baptism a Symbol and The Scriptural Doctrine of the Blood.² Some were printed in scholarly journals, e.g., "The Scriptural Anthropology."³

The number of published titles is immense. Starr's A Baptist Bibliography contains nearly 100 entries of works by Boardman, including multiple editions of the same work.⁴ Starr's list is by no means complete, as the bibliography of this present work shows.⁵ Many sermons reported in the Baptist and other religious periodicals easily escape notice; almost every major city had its Baptist paper, and at one time or another one or more of Boardman's sermons appeared in nearly all of them.⁶

Twelve titles qualify as full-fledged books. In order of publication they are Studies in the Creative Week (1878), Studies in the Model Prayer (1879), Epiphanies of the Risen Lord (1879), Studies in the Moun-

¹Civil Government, a Divine Ordinance, p. [3].

²Baptism a Symbol (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, n.d.); The Scriptural Doctrine of the Blood (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, n.d.).

³"The Scriptural Anthropology," Baptist Quarterly, I (April, July, October, 1867), [177]-190, [325]-340, [428]-444.

⁴Edward C. Starr, A Baptist Bibliography (Rochester, N.Y.: American Baptist Historical Society, 1947--), III, B3604-B3702.

⁵Infra, pp. 186ff.

⁶In the Boardman papers, ABHS, there are clippings of his sermons from papers in Philadelphia, Washington, New York, Richmond, Boston, Hartford, Chicago, and Portland, Me.

tain Instruction (1880), The Divine Man, from the Nativity to the Temptation (1887), The Ten Commandments (1889), The Problem of Jesus (1891), The Coronation of Love (1895), The Kingdom (Basileia) (1899), The Church (Ecclesia) (1901), Our Risen King's Forty Days (1902), and Ethics of the Body (1903). It is a little misleading, however, to regard these as twelve distinct works. Part of Model Prayer was included in Mountain Instruction.¹ Epiphanies and Our Risen King's Forty Days are substantially the same work under two different titles. Much of Mountain Instruction was incorporated into The Kingdom.²

Several of the books enjoyed moderate publishing success. The first printing of 3000 of Studies in the Creative Week was sold in a week.³ This same work was issued six times between 1878 and 1887.⁴ Epiphanies was issued in 1879, 1882, and 1891 and again in 1902 under the other title.⁵ Mountain Instruction saw three editions.⁶ The Problem of Jesus experienced the longest publishing history: from 1891 to 1932 there were eight editions.⁷ Several hundred copies of it were given to seminary graduates in accord with Boardman's will.⁸

Some projected works never materialized. The Divine Man was to have been followed by a second volume covering the rest of the life of Jesus.⁹ Ethics of the Body was to have been a book about twice as long.¹⁰ Board-

¹Studies in the Mountain Instruction, p. 228. ²The Kingdom, p. viii.

³W. Rauschenbusch in Mrs. G. Boardman, op. cit., p. 20.

⁴Starr, loc. cit. ⁵Ibid. ⁶Ibid. ⁷Ibid.

⁸Bronk in The Problem of Jesus (6th ed.), p. 8; many letters from the seminaries to Mrs. Boardman in Boardman papers, ABHS.

⁹See title page of The Ten Commandments where Boardman is listed as also the author of "The Divine Man (Vol. I)."

¹⁰Ethics of the Body, p. 153.

man may have also had in mind other publishing ventures. The manuscript of the lectures on "Corporate Society" bears a notation calling for them to be "wholly reconstructed" if they are to be published.¹

¹"Corporate Society," p. 1.

CHAPTER V

SCHOLAR

Although George Boardman was uniquely a man of one Book, he was not precluded thereby from being at the same time a man of many books. The "unfolder of the word of God," consistent with his own view of God's revelation, sought truth "wherever found--on heathen or on Christian ground," that all truth might be related to what had been revealed in Scripture.¹ God has spoken in the Bible; He has also unveiled Himself in His creation. The Christian scholar can and should be constantly investigating both revelations. In all that he did Boardman sought to be an honest investigator, i.e., a scholar, but always in the service of making known the truth in Christ.

A. Belief in the Unity of Truth in Christ

Boardman approached all study with firm conviction that all information, wisdom, and truth from whatever source hold together in Jesus Christ--"in him all things consist."² No field of study, therefore, is unimportant or out of bounds for the Christian scholar. Religion should quit viewing science with suspicion and begin boldly seeking rapprochement.³ "Church and Academy" should "join in glad bridal."⁴ Science, "as

¹Supra, p. 26.

²Colossians 1:17.

³Studies in the Mountain Instruction, p. 25.

⁴"The Outlook for the Twentieth Century," Mrs. G. Boardman, op. cit., p. 182.

in the old days of Magian astronomy, still is to bring her treasures of gold and frankincense and myrrh, and lay them at the feet of Him."¹ All truth is in Christ, or as Boardman put it:

He Himself is the fountain and arena and meaning and final cause of all things from atom to vastest star, being in Himself Nature's origin, Nature's means, Nature's goal. In Him were all things created, the things in the heavens and the things on the earth, the visible and the invisible, whether thrones or dominions or principalities ~~or~~ powers: all things have been created by Him and for Him; and He is before all things, and in Him all things subsist. The center of gravity and pivot for the universe, He yet filleth all things, raying out along every possible radius to utmost periphery or to use Pascal's striking paradox, His "center is everywhere, and His circumference is nowhere."²

When Christianity's critics hastened to point out that some of Jesus' teachings were far from original, having been anticipated "not only by the rabbins [sic], but also by pagan writers, e.g., Isocrates, Socrates, Menander, Cicero, Confucius, the Vedas, etc.," Boardman was unabashed:

As though this were a discredit to Him instead of a powerful tribute. For Christ came not to create, but to re-create; not to abolish, but to transfigure; not to destroy, but to fulfill. Himself the Son of Man, He assimilated ~~into~~ His own personality all that is good and great in man. . . .

These anticipations of the pagan writers, then instead of distracting from Christ's originality, really attest it, being witness of the true Light, which, enlightening every man, was ever coming into the world.³

In the discussion of Boardman's view of the Bible, it was noted that he believed that nature had the divinely-ordered task of elucidating Scriptural truth.⁴ As he put it, "A profound, Divinely-ordained corres-

¹Studies in the Mountain Instruction, p. 25. ²Ibid., p. 103.

³Ibid., pp. 20f.

⁴Supra, p. 58.

pondence exists between things spiritual and things natural."¹ Therefore, resemblances "between the kingdom of matter and the kingdom of spirit" are more than a "happy accident."² E.g., Christ did not "adjust Himself and His church to a scheme of Nature already existing," but rather He foreknew all things, including the unique, intimate relation with His people, and so constructed the "human organism of head and body [to] set forth the mystical union of Saviour and Saved."³ The spiritual is prior to the natural, the invisible to the visible.⁴

A close friend of Boardman's described his view of truth this way:

His soul lived in a many-windowed turret. There are some who think that to be good ministers, they must confine themselves to a few interests and ideas, lest they fritter away their time. Dr. Boardman lived on a different plan. He knew that a man who lives in Christ and for the Kingdom of God, holds the secret which unifies all ideas and aims, and every action gains dignity and power from the wealth of life and force concentrated on it. To adapt the saying of the ancient sage: He was a Christian and he held naught that was of God to be alien from him.⁵

Boardman's firm conviction concerning the unity of truth in Christ had certain implications. It meant that he welcomed all scientific discovery for whatever light its facts could throw on truth. It meant that he always sought the "moral meaning" in any bit of information. In the coming twentieth century he foresaw that preachers would have "to show the relation of the law of gravitation to the hereafter, and to apply the principles of physics to conduct."⁶

¹Studies in the Creative Week, p. 24. ²Ibid., ³Ibid., p. 25.

⁴Ibid., pp. 24, 28.

⁵W. Rauschenbusch, "The Literary Work of George Dana Boardman" (unpublished MS in Boardman papers, ABHS), p. 6.

⁶Laurens, loc.cit.

B. Theological Stance

Boardman kept himself open to truth from whatever quarter it might come. This liberal outlook did not lead him to set aside all orthodox teachings, however, for he ever affirmed the uniqueness and authority of the Bible and denied flatly that man had any access to God the Father save through "Jesus the Nazarene, Deity Incarnate."¹ Without equivocation he said, "All who seek to climb over into God's Fatherhood in any other way are thieves and robbers."²

That Christianity has an indispensable experiential side, he doubted not; in fact, if he stressed anything, he stressed the necessity of vital personal Christianity. Yet he was quick to say that the Christian faith is also a "system of facts, . . . made up of historical facts as well as religious conceptions. . . . Ignore its facts and you tear away the foundation of its theology."³ He insisted, therefore, on the necessity of creeds, saying:

Indeed, a creedless Christian is apt to be a thoughtless, mol-
luscous Christian. Sturdy Christian thinking inevitably issues
in sturdy Christian creeds. . . . Few things are more bewilder-
ing and enervating than vagueness of religious ideas; few
things are more clarifying and buttressing than exactitude of
Christian conceptions.⁴

At the same time, nonetheless, he guarded against a rigid fixity in creeds. Since Christianity is living, it must grow; our conceptions of Christia-
nity, if they are alive, must be growing, too. Otherwise creeds become

¹"The Way, The Truth, The Life" in Mrs. G. Boardman, *op. cit.*, pp. 66f. But cf. his remarks concerning the "inclusiveness" of Christianity and the possible implications for the sincere but unenlightened pagan, *infra*, pp. 137f.

²*Ibid.* ³"Fact Preaching," p. 1. ⁴*The Church*, pp. 95f.

prisons. Boardman saw that truth is larger than any man's conception of it:

Creeds are tiny as compared with truth itself. For any creed, even the truest that man has ever devised or arranged, is at best but man's notion of the truth; and truth is ever larger than men's notions. Portions, or aspects, of moral truth you may define, that is bound, with tolerable accuracy. But in spite of your best attempts at definition or exact statement, it will be found that the real truth lies largely in the margins and outskirts. Hence parables are often truer than histories, hymns than creeds, unspoken sentiments than confessions of faith. . . ."¹

Since creeds are both necessary and restricting, Christians must always allow their faith to grow.² Boardman advised, "Take care of it, water it, guard it; but do not incarcerate it."³ The Spirit is still speaking to the churches, he said, and "it would be well were Christians of all sects to gather occasionally, to compare discoveries which may have been made under guidance of the Spirit, and adjust our symbols accordingly."⁴

The Christian scholar at his best will follow the example of that scribe "who brings forth out of his treasure new things and old."⁵ He will bring forth not novelties, but new things "in the sense of freshness --fresh unfoldings, fresh methods, fresh applications."⁶ He will bring forth not merely ancient things but old things "in the sense of primary, fundamental, eternal."⁷ "New things and old" must always go together; only thus can there be "Conservative Progress."⁸ All creeds, must, therefore, undergo constant scrutiny. To sneer, blink, run, fight, or compromise in the face of creedal crises are all alike wrong approaches.⁹ The

¹Ibid., p. 98. ²Ibid., p. 99. ³Ibid. ⁴Ibid., p. 101.

⁵Matt. 13:52. ⁶The Church, p. 102. ⁷Ibid. ⁸Ibid. ⁹Ibid., p. 103.

Christian answer is found in Paul's words: "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good; abstain from every form of evil."¹ Prove, or test, any and all creeds, using as criteria the Bible, common sense, the effect of a particular belief on behavior, and its effect "on our estimate of the person and character of our Lord Jesus Christ."² Having submitted the body of belief to these tests, hold fast to what survives, and reject whatever has failed.³ Boardman apparently did not try to write a new creed or confession of faith. His own church still was officially tied to the Philadelphia Confession [1742] as late as 1896.⁴ He seemingly was content to advocate and suggest in hope that others might take the necessary steps. Too, he shared in common with many Baptists a non-creedalism, the idea that Baptists have no definitive creeds, never have, and never should; the "Bible only" is the authority. This myth--which is by no means dead--if not originated was at least perpetrated by Boardman's old mentor, Francis Wayland.⁵ Baptists have, in fact, written many confessions of faith from the time of their beginnings in the early seventeenth century.⁶ Boardman's sharing of the myth may account in part for his own reluctance to make or revise creeds. It is interesting to note that in his vision of "The Coming Ideal Church," he advocated the Bible alone as the standard of authority and discipleship to Christ as the only

¹I Thess. 5:21f. ²The Church, p. 104. ³Ibid., p. 105.

⁴Keen, op. cit., pp. 409-13; the Philadelphia Confession was mainly a Baptist adaptation of the Westminster Confession.

⁵See Wayland's Notes on the Principles and Practices of Baptist Churches, p. 13.

⁶On the whole subject see Lawrence T. Slaght, "An Appraisal of the Grand Rapids 'Affirmation of Faith,'" Foundations, VI (July, 1963), 218-32.

creed.¹

A certain Dr. Thomas once inquired of him how he would manage a religious periodical. The reply perhaps fittingly summarizes Boardman's theological stance; hastily he responded:

My dear brother--

Had I the management of a Christian newspaper, it seems to me that I would conduct on some such principles as the following.

I. Supremacy of Jesus Christ as revealed in His manner of life.

II. Superiority of spirit over letter, the essential over the incidental, the abiding over the transient, the end over the means.

III. Reverence for the past, its men, its opinions, its customs.

IV. Yet rights of Private Judgment, Personal Responsibility rather than ecumenical [?].

V. Recognition of doctrines of Holy Ghost and Providence, thus summoning to flexibility

VI. Humble and cheerful recognition of the Doctrine of Diversity in Unity and Unity in Diversity I Cor XII-4-11

VII. Paramount Importance of Christian Ethics--e.g., Sermon on the Mount.

VIII. Edification [sic] rather than dilapidation [?], Comprehension rather than exclusion.²

The foregoing sketch of Boardman's theological stance serves the purpose of the present chapter. In a later discussion of his career as a Baptist there will again be occasion to examine his views of things peculiarly Baptist.³

¹Infra, p. 132.

²Boardman to Dr. Thomas, Dec. 18, 1876, in FBC archives.

³Infra, pp. 105ff.

C. Abilities and Interests

Boardman, pursuing truth everywhere, was a man of wide-ranging interests and often the abilities to match. A younger intimate and occasional traveling companion, Dr. Edward Braislín, remembered him for his encyclopedic learning and grasp of foreign languages--he read newspapers in French, German, Greek, and Italian.¹ Another friend recalled Boardman's able Greek scholarship and correspondence and interviews with the outstanding New Testament scholars of the times: Alford, Ellicott, Westcott, Perowne, and Stanley.² It is likely he sought their acquaintance to learn from them what he could.

His interests led him into a broad range of associations with other men of scholarship. He held membership in the Academy of Natural Sciences, the American Philosophical Society, the Victorian Institute, London, the American Oriental Society, the Philadelphia Oriental Club, the New England Society, the Academy of Social and Political Science, the American Society of Church History, the American Institute of Christian Philosophy, the Hebrew Institute, the Palestine Exploration Society, the Egyptian Exploration Society, the American Baptist Historical Society, and the Baptist Congress for the Discussion of Current Questions.³

His lecture, "Archetypal Forms and Telic Figurations," exemplifies his combined theological, philosophical, and scientific interests.⁴ In this lecture given before the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sci-

¹Mrs. G. Boardman, op. cit., p. 11m. ²Ibid., p. 18m.

³This listing depends mainly on Boardman's own notes in the papers, ABHS, but has been supplemented from Rose, op. cit., p. 20; Mrs. G. Boardman, op. cit., pp. 13m, 19m; and Second Annual Baptist Autumnal Conference, 1883, pp. 100f.

⁴Appended to Studies in the Creative Week, pp. 303-27.

ences, he attempted to establish the thesis that "all natural forms are Telic Figurations from Archetypal Forms."¹ By form he signified the idea in the Creator's mind; by figure he meant any of an almost infinite variety of developments of the basic form.² Boardman had a particular fondness for finding examples of form and figure in crystals:

All substances in solidifying tend to crystallize. Each substance in crystallizing takes on its own figure. Each figure is built on the framework of three axes. The Triaxis is the Fundamental Form or Archetype of the crystal world. In fact, crystalline axes are the most perfect samples of what I mean by Archetypes, because they are purely ideal. And the whole crystal world is built around the Triaxis. . . . The author has amused himself for hours, not without intellectual and moral profit, in constructing numerous varieties of imaginary crystal figures by simply having a triaxial framework. . . . The ideal Triaxis is the common, invariable, fundamental framework or Archetypal Form: actual crystals are imposed, diversified figures. How simple the Form! How infinite the figures! And this is true for all worlds.³

What he shared with the Philadelphia Academy in 1867, he offered to the Philadelphia Baptist Ministers' Conference three years later when he devoted three sessions to "Archetypes in Crystals."⁴ His study of archetypes will be considered again when his response to Darwinism is treated.⁵

Needless to say, Boardman was no dilettante. In every interest, he sought to relate to all truth. "Archetypal Forms and Telic Figurations" closes with an appeal to bow in humble worship before God the Creator of forms and the Arranger of figures.⁶

¹Ibid., p. 303. ²Ibid., pp. 306, 309. ³Ibid., p. 309.

⁴Unidentified newspaper clipping in Boardman papers, ABHS; Register, p. 340.

⁵Infra, pp. 95ff.

⁶Studies in the Creative Week, p. 327.

D. Travels

Brief mention of Boardman's travels under the heading of his career as a scholar perhaps requires some defense. In his lifetime he traveled abroad at various times and for various reasons: to regain health, attend peace or church unity conferences, or supply another's pulpit.¹ The most extensive journey, however, he made purposely to equip himself better for studying "the two Bibles."² On leave of absence granted by the church, for nearly fifteen months--from June 21, 1870, to September 13, 1871--he toured Europe, Egypt, Sinai, Palestine, Asia Minor, and Greece, accompanied by a church member and close friend, Dr. Edwin T. Darby, a Philadelphia dentist.³

Dr. Darby recollected their riding donkeys for nine miles to see the Pyramids and the Sphinx, a week-long trip by camel to view Mt. Sinai and St. Catherine's Convent, and getting lost while traveling by horseback in the Holy Land and then finding their way with the aid of a band of robbers.⁴ In Europe Boardman suffered the loss of extensive travel notes when his baggage was lost or stolen in Germany.⁵ Illness also marred the long journey in Syria, Canterbury, and London.⁶

To make up for the tragic loss of his notes, he reconstructed them as best he could from memory. During the spring after his return to the

¹The Watchman (Boston), Dec. 19, 1895 (c); Register, pp. 398f.; Mrs. Boardman's notes in Boardman papers, ABHS.

²Mrs. G. Boardman, op. cit., p. 13m. ³Register, pp. 341f.

⁴Mrs. G. Boardman, op. cit., pp. 13-16m.

⁵The National Baptist (Philadelphia), August 24, 1871, p. 1.

⁶Register, p. 341.

United States, he gave a series of public lectures in Philadelphia on the Holy Land.¹ Rose reports that he also wrote a series of articles on his 1870-71 travels by virtue of which he was invited to join the American Philosophical Society.²

¹The National Baptist, April 4, 1872, p. 5.

²Rose, op. cit., p. 20. The writer has not seen the articles, if they are extant.

E. Response to Darwinism and New Science

When Darwinism began to claim great things for itself, Boardman responded in an open but by no means uncritical fashion. Darwinism made claims on at least three different levels: (1) as an hypothesis of the mechanics of biological and physical development, (2) as a theory of the origin of matter and life, and (3) as a metaphysical theory; and these are the levels at which Dr. Boardman confronted the challenges of evolutionary thought.

The first of these claims, that evolution was the means by which various forms of life had been achieved, he was willing to grant in a limited sense, provided the evidence warranted. He wrote:

We hear a great deal said in our day about "Evolution." Whether this doctrine as applied, at least by some of the scientists who hold it, to the formation (not creation) of the universe is true or not, is, I feel bound to say, an open question. I see but little in the Bible to oppose it; I see much in the Bible to uphold it. The question is a question of fact, and . . . is to be determined, not by preconception, but by observation.¹

Actually, he granted little to the evolutionists. While tentatively admitting that evolution may be the means of development, he did not thereby allow that the development had occurred by whim or chance or "natural selection." He stoutly maintained:

To evolve is to unroll, unfold, develop. But you cannot unroll what was not inrolled; you cannot unfold what was not infolded; you cannot develop what was not enveloped. . . . Evolution not only implies involution, it also implies that the involution is equal to the evolution. . . . There is a sense in which I must accept the doctrine of Evolution, . . . the original, etymological sense, viz., unrolling. I believe

¹The Kingdom (Basileia), pp. 62f.

that the Process of Creation was the unrolling of a Divine Plan. . . . In this sense of the word, . . . I am proud to confess myself an Evolutionist.¹

In other words, evolution probably served as the Creator's means of working out His plan. This is not to deny that the advance was genetic, but it is to say that the evolution was "ideal," unfolding "along the ideal of a Divine thought or plan."² Boardman gave as an example of "ideal evolution" the development of a "leonine ovum" into a full-grown lion; "the ideal axis" along which the growth takes place is that of a "vertebrate mammal."³ He denied what the "atheistic evolutionists hold, that the pickerel was transformed by vertebral metamorphosis into the tortoise, the tortoise into the owl, the owl into the gorilla, ~~the~~ gorilla into man."⁴ Rather, he held with the "theistic evolutionists" that

pickerel, tortoise, owl, gorilla, man are divine modifications of the general archetypal vertebra for specific purposes, adjusting the physical application of the archetypal ideal vertebra to new necessities as occasioned by new conditions or environments.⁵

The "Archetypal Forms" in the mind of the Creator make scientific classification possible; the "Telic Figurations" are modifications by "God the Arranger" of the forms to meet special needs.⁶ Boardman said, "What Mr. Darwin calls Natural Selection, I would call God's Telic Adjustment, configuring the Archetypal Form to a special need."⁷ Many

¹Studies in the Creative Week, pp. 124f. ²Ibid., p. 126.

³"Evolution," in Mrs. G. Boardman, op. cit., p. 79. ⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid. ⁶Studies in the Creative Week, pp. 322, 326.

evolutionary theorists failed--so said Boardman--to limit themselves to "objective, concrete, definite" instances of "evolution or transmutation" and instead were propounding theories about species, abstractions which no man has every seen or touched; he accused them of dabbling in metaphysics.¹ The theorists failed also to use terms, e.g., "evolution," with any degree of exactness: "these Gentlemen of the Balance and Micrometer confound unrollment with transition, development with transmutation."²

It follows from Boardman's limited acceptance of evolution as the unfolding of a divine plan that he could not accept evolution as explaining the origin of anything, whether matter, life, or species. He argued on the basis of the immense weight of the universe: "whence came this ~~in~~ceivable amount of material?"³ If, as some evolutionists were saying, the whole universe had evolved from "a few cells or germs, or perhaps one," and if ex nihilo nihil fit, then those few germs must equal the weight of the entire universe.⁴ He said, "You cannot extract a ton out of a kilogram."⁵ Evolution as "the philosophical cause or initial force which accounts for the progress of life" he refused to accept.⁶ He took on faith the claim of Genesis 1:1 and confessed, "Man is only a builder, constructing with materials; God is a Creator, constructing without materials. God creates atoms; man fashions molecules."⁷

Boardman's contention with evolutionism continued at the philoso-

¹Ibid., p. 124. ²Ibid. ³Ibid., p. 38. ⁴Ibid., p. 39.

⁵Ibid., p. 125. ⁶"Evolution," loc. cit.

⁷Studies in the Creative Week, p. 41.

sophical level. He saw what he was certain evolutionary philosophers did not see, that:

Progress may be downward as well as upward. Morbid germs there are as well as healthful. . . . Evolution is illustrated as truly in moral degeneracy as in moral progress. But this is precisely what some of our philosophic reformers will not believe. Hence they are continually urging development as the grand cure-all of mankind.¹

He did not wish to quarrel with those who were "trying to elevate mankind by ameliorating its external conditions," but he hastened to point out that merely giving "free scope to human potentialities" offers grave dangers, saying, "We do not know what direction the development may take."² Evolutionary philosophers failed to take into account that men are morally disabled by sin and that there is cumulative deterioration due to evil.³ On the other hand Boardman found the Bible a strong champion of spiritual progress and said:

Darwin busies himself with what man has been; Paul with what he can be. Darwin dwells upon the past and present; Paul looks toward the future. Darwin's evolution ends in himself; Paul's evolution ends in Christ.⁴

Precisely "in Christ" Boardman hoped for moral progress: "Jesus Christ is the true bread coming down from heaven, which, fermenting in human society, is raising human society heavenward."⁵

Science was opening many a new frontier during Boardman's life, and he sought as far as possible to integrate the new discoveries and hypotheses into his own thought. Geology he found confirming the Bible at

¹The Kingdom (Basileia), p. 63. ²Ibid. ³Ibid., p. 64.

⁴"Evolution," p. 81. ⁵The Kingdom (Basileia), p. 228.

many points, e.g., geology and the Bible agree that at one time water covered most of the earth.¹ The "Nebular Hypothesis" posited by many to explain the formation of the earth he could easily square with the "without form and void," "dark," and "deep" of Genesis.² The same Hypothesis offered support to the biblical statements concerning the origin of light: the rapid motion of molecules to which the Hypothesis attributes the generation of light was no doubt due to the activity of "the Spirit, or Breath, of God."³ Boardman feared no discovery of science, confident that "when science does discover a new fact, it [will] also discover that the Bible has from the outset morally implicated it."⁴ E.g., even though the writer of Genesis knew nothing of the Nebular Hypothesis, "he builded larger than he knew;" even though the Bible is not a scientific book, being truth, it has "an indefinite expansibility."⁵ Science has no higher calling than "to decipher the Scriptural cipher."⁶

The embryo science sociology attracted Boardman's attention, too. "Sociology" as he used the term implies something slightly different than it does to the present day reader. "Sociology" today connotes the descriptive discipline which analyzes society in its many dimensions. In Boardman's time the word was used more in an ethical sense; he defined it as "the philosophy of society," and to him it was the "practical problem" of

¹Studies in the Creative Week, p. 102. ²Ibid., p. 51.

³Ibid., p. 68. ⁴Ibid., p. 91. ⁵Ibid. ⁶Ibid.

the times.¹ He considered sociology the science whose major task was to solve society's problems: labor and mangement, land reform, revolution, anarchy, and monopolies.² In Jesus and His teachings was to be found the key to sociology; men's troubles could be solved by applying the doctrines of love, altruism, and mutuality.³

¹The Ten Commandments, p. 356. ²Ibid.

³Ibid., pp. 356f. Boardman's unpublished lectures "Corporate Society" had an alternate title "Christian Sociology," see infra, pp. 163f.

F. Scholarly Writings

To devote a section to Boardman's scholarly writings is not to say that his other works were unscholarly; he certainly would not wish any such distinction. There are, however, some writings--here singled out--which were intended primarily for the smaller circle of scholarship and which were not merely worked over sermons. Some mentioned here appeared first in scholarly journals; one was first given before a scientific society.

In "The Scriptural Anthropology," appearing in the Baptist Quarterly's first year of publication, the author purposed to "set forth the scriptural doctrine of the constitution of man."¹ His basis for attempting a biblical anthropology was his belief that the Bible, although written neither in "metaphysical form" nor "with metaphysical intent, is true in itself, and therefore, true to the facts of metaphysics."² Further, the anthropology taught in the Bible is no less a matter of "revelation" than the doctrines of creation, immortality, and "reconciliation by Christ."³ Boardman discovered that the Bible presents a triplex view of man: sōma, psychē, and pneuma, all three in union.⁴ The sōma, or body, is the "organ of communication between other parts of man's nature and the outward world; the avenue through which he is fed emotionally, intellectually, morally."⁵ The psychē, or soul, is "that which makes a living being" and is shared with other creatures; in itself it "has no inherent moral qua-

¹"The Scriptural Anthropology," Baptist Quarterly, I (April, 1867), 177.

²Ibid. ³Ibid. ⁴Ibid., p. 178. ⁵Ibid., p. 179.

lity;" it ~~may be~~ indifferently "carnal," "aesthetic," "intellectual," or "ethical."¹ Where the will and the consciousness belonged Boardman was not certain.² The pneuma, or spirit, is "distinctly the religious faculty," proper only to man, and is man's capacity for God.³ The pneuma is asleep or dead due to sin and needs a re-birth.⁴ Having made his definitions, the author turned to an examination of several Bible passages which give support to his view of man. He called in question the "pagan" duplex anthropology which so many in the church persist in holding; he then issued a concluding challenge: "If then, the Holy Scripture makes a distinction between psychē and pneuma, ought not the church, and the seminary, and the university to acknowledge it?"⁵ So important did he believe the results of his study to be that he said:

There can be no genuine psychology where there is no distinct, formal, scientific recognition of the scriptural pneumatology. . . . There can be no true science of man until Christ and his truth are carried into ethics, metaphysics [sic], aesthetics, physiology, in short, ontology, as well as theology. The God-man is the centre and co-ordinating force of all things.⁶

Horace Bushnell wrote to him in criticism, expressing general appreciation but inquiring wherein lay the unity of man's three-fold nature and the placement of the various functions of the personality.⁷ Boardman's reply --if he replied--has not come to light.

To the Old and New Testament Student--later Biblical World--he contributed two short studies on "The Alphabetical Psalms" and "The Antedi-

¹Ibid., pp. 181-83. ²Ibid., p. 183. ³Ibid., p. 184.

⁴Ibid., p. 185. ⁵Ibid., I (Oct., 1867), 443.

⁶Ibid., I (April, 1867), 190.

⁷Bushnell to Boardman, May 5, 1867 (Boardman papers, ABHS). The writer has found no other critical comment on the article.

luvian Chronology." The former asks whether the "artificial structure" of some of the Psalms argues against their divine inspiration and answers in the negative since "God inspiring the sacred writers gave them His thoughts: but he allowed them to express those thoughts in words and ways of their own."¹ The latter article discusses the chronological problems of the early chapters of Genesis and concludes that the difficulties in no way alter the fact of the events.² A third article appeared in the same journal, but it is more a short homily.³

Previous mention has been made of "Archetypal Forms and Telic Figurations," which merits mention among his scholarly writings. It evinces his informed work not only in biblical studies, but also in physics, mathematics, and zoology.⁴

A notation of Boardman's found among the papers mentions his contribution of sixteen articles to the Century Dictionary, including such words as "astronomic" and "basal."⁵

Thus Boardman's belief in the unity of truth in Christ and his theological openness induced him to search widely that all knowledge might be put to service in behalf of the glory of Christ. Throughout his life he continued to relate to the latest scholarship. His works and his Wednesday lectures are indications of continuing scholarly effort.

¹"The Alphabetical Psalms," Old and New Testament Student, V (April, 1886), 334f.

²"The Antediluvian Chronology," ibid., VI (Feb., 1887), 175f.

³"How We Should Study the Bible," ibid., V (June, 1886), 394-97.

⁴Supra, pp. 91ff.; Studies in the Creative Week, pp. 304-21.

⁵Note in the Boardman papers, ABHS. The writer has not located the Dictionary.

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G. Recognition

George Dana Boardman did not go without formal recognition of his achievements in scholarship. He was a member by invitation of the American Philosophical Society, an honor which Bronk considered "exceptional for other than a scientist."¹ His alma mater Brown University conferred the D.D. on him in 1866.² The University of Pennsylvania presented him the LL.D. in 1889, in view not only of his many contributions to the school as a trustee but also of his lectures there published as The Ten Commandments.³

¹Supra, p. 91. and M. Bronk in The Problem of Jesus, p. 6.

²The National Baptist (Philadelphia), Sept. 13, 1866.

³Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1889. See Bronk, loc. cit.

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CHAPTER VI

BAPTIST

A Baptist by heritage, upbringing, choice, training, and conviction, George Dana Boardman played an active and sometimes influential role in the life of that denomination of Christians. In sympathy with the distinctly Baptist beliefs, yet he advocated certain positions which seemed to him more in keeping with Scripture and to others questionable. The many Baptist organizations and societies enjoyed his membership and participation.

A. Basic Orthodox Stance

In the previous chapter it was seen that Boardman was basically an orthodox Christian.¹ The same can be said for him as a Baptist. Baptism by immersion--supposedly the doctrine of Baptists--he held to unwaveringly. One of his first sermons in Philadelphia was "Baptism a Symbol," subsequently given as the annual sermon of the American Baptist Publication Society, published as a tract, and repeated as a lecture in New York City and elsewhere.² The argument is as follows: (1) God's commonest method of proclaiming truth is symbol; (2) the Christian believer has experienced sin, the desire to be cleansed from sin, humiliation at his own inability,

¹Supra, pp. 87ff.

²Register, p. 325; The Examiner and Chronicle (New York), June 1, 1865, p. [2]; Baptism a Symbol (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1866); The National Baptist (Philadelphia), March 7 and 14, 1867, p. [2].

submission to the power of Christ, and resurrection to a new life; (3) no more appropriate symbol for this experience can be found than baptism by immersion.¹ To non-Baptists he said:

What right . . . has the church to ignore the symbolism of the primitive baptism, diluting meaningful immersion into meaningless sprinkling? When did our King authorize his church to revoke his "ordinance" of baptism, his symbolism? . . . Had the church remained true to the profound moral symbolism involved in the original mode of Christian baptism, she had escaped the perversions involved in hereditary church membership, Pedobaptism, and the like. For Baptists insist on conscious personal faith in Christ as prerequisite to baptism. Hence they oppose, not infant dedication, but infant baptism. . . . Thus the insistence of the Baptists on retaining immersion as the primitive mode of Christian baptism is neither technical nor speculative; it is fundamental.²

One of the best ways for Christians to unite, he said, would be for all denominations to return to immersion as "the original mode" of baptism, thus recovering the symbol which epitomizes Christianity, removing a scandal for Baptists for whom the way of baptism is a matter of "loyalty to God's own word," and rallying all Christians together around the visible symbol of the gospel.³ Advocate of Christian unity though he was, Boardman would not and could not surrender this important teaching. A member of his church joined with others to found a "Union Evangelical Church"--a sort of non-denominational congregation. Boardman applauded the expression of Christian unity but wrote, "I have too much confidence in your Christian training and principle to believe that you will ever compromise our denominational conviction in the matter of baptism."⁴

¹The National Baptist (Philadelphia), Jan. 25, 1866, p. [2]; Cf. The Kingdom, pp. 250-53.

²The Church, pp. 74f. ³Ibid., pp. 75f.

⁴G. Boardman to C. W. Scott, Jan. 25, 1893, in Boardman papers, ABHS.

Another key principle of Baptists has been that every person has the right--and the duty--to interpret for himself the Bible which alone is the only rule of faith and practice.¹ This, too, Boardman, believed and followed. In a controversy centering around his view of the Lord's Supper, he called attention to the Baptist tenet concerning the "right of private judgment," particularly in matters "not plainly determined by the Scriptures."²

Baptists have traditionally advocated strict separation between church and state. Boardman fully shared this conviction, saying that the dream of great worldly power for the church "has ever led to peril."³ He was even willing to bear the burden of the logic of his position: "I believe in the taxation of church property. 'Woe to them that go down to Egypt for help. . . .'"⁴ His vision of the promising twentieth century included the hope that "church and State will dissolve partnership."⁵

¹Cf., e.g., T. Armitage, "Baptist Faith and Practice," in C. A. Jenkins, ed., Baptist Doctrines (St. Louis; Chancy R. Barns, 1880), pp. 34ff.

²Philadelphia Baptist Ministers' Conference, Minutes, III, p. 247 (in ABHS); see also infra, pp. 109ff.

³The Kingdom, pp. 212f.

⁴The Christian Church (n.p., n.n., n.d.), p. 7.

⁵Christian Outlook for the Twentieth Century (Philadelphia: n.n., 1898), single leaf.

B. Progressive Leanings

Basically a Baptist like most other Baptists, still Boardman leaned far enough to the left on certain issues for him to be considered a progressive. Indeed, one writer referred to him as a leading representative of "the liberal wing" of Baptists.¹ When charges of heresy were raised against Professor Nathaniel Schmidt of Colgate Seminary, Boardman wrote to Samuel Colgate of the Seminary's trustees:

It would be a great pity to deprive our ministerial students of the services of one who is such a painstaking and scholarly investigator of Christian truth, and who therefore for this very reason is competent to teach others. While we ought to be zealous in conserving the truth, we ought to be equally zealous in learning what the truth is.²

The question of man's immortality early occupied his mind. As a college student he pondered whether man was designed for physical immortality and came up with a negative answer.³ The question of natural immortality for man he never completely resolved in his own mind. He saw no passage of Scripture teaching the doctrine; the tree of life in the garden of Eden he took as "the symbol of a bestowed Immortality."⁴ He was inclined to think that whatever immortality man has is the result of the bestowal of life by Christ on the believer.⁵ This inclination toward belief in conditional immortality raised the eyebrows of some who saw cor-

¹George Thomas Dowling, "Progressive Religious Leaders: The Baptist Church," The Christian Union, Jan. 16, 1890, (c).

²Boardman to Colgate, June 13, 1895, in Boardman papers, ABHS. Schmidt and Boardman were both active in the Brotherhood of the Kingdom; see infra, pp. 170ff.

³Supra, pp. 25f. ⁴The Creative Week, p. 215, italics our.

⁵Mrs. G. Boardman, op. cit., p. 65.

rectly the implication for what was generally believed to be the state of the wicked. A. H. Strong accurately perceived that Boardman's tendency implied neither continued existence nor consciousness for the non-believer.¹ To another who had written--the Rev. J. H. Pettingill--Boardman replied:

While I entirely agree with you in your thesis that in Christ alone is everlasting life, I am not so clear as you seem to be concerning the fate of the incorrigibly wicked. . . . While I am uncertain as to the privative [sic] side of Christianity, I am absolutely certain as to the positive side.²

Compared to the reaction provoked by Boardman's views of the Lord's Supper, however, the disturbance over his thinking on immortality was negligible. Even today a sizable number of Baptists adhere to the doctrine of "close communion." In Boardman's day the practice was nearly universal among Baptists. The practice of "close communion" bars from the Lord's Supper not only non-believers but also all who have not been baptized--i.e., immersed.³ Hiscox declared--with the "imprimatur" of such Baptist luminaries as Alvah Hovey, A. H. Strong, and Henry G. Weston, presidents of the three leading Baptist seminaries in the North--that communicants must meet three prerequisites: regeneration, baptism [immersion!], and godliness; he further insisted that the Supper is "a Church ordinance to be observed by churches only."⁴ Doubtless the doctrine was dispensed in all the leading Baptist schools and publications, as Dowling said.⁵ Board-

¹Strong to Boardman, Nov. 7, 1891, in Boardman papers, ABHS.

²Boardman to Pettingill, July 10, 1882, in Boardman papers, ABHS.

³E. T. Hiscox, The New Directory for Baptist Churches (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1893), pp. 447f. (still in print).

⁴Ibid., pp. 4, 451.

⁵Dowling, loc. cit.

man somewhat timidly set forth his views in the Baptist Quarterly Review.¹ He offered two qualifications for participation in the Lord's Supper: the moral, i.e., Christian character, and the formal, i.e., Christian baptism.² The former signifies both regeneration and sanctification; the latter, although not based on any divine declaration but inferred from Scripture, is "proper and expedient."³ He was more forthright in The Church. He issued a caveat against being "misled by traditional, hereditary assumptions."⁴ Among the "hereditary assumptions" were the belief that baptism must precede participation, that the supper is a "church ordinance," and that the disciples of Jesus were already "church members" when the supper was instituted.⁵ At each of these points Boardman asked to be shown "book, chapter, verse" in the Bible: "man's assumptions are not God's Scriptures."⁶ As a pastor Boardman seems not to have lowered the bar, but he did urge his Baptist brethren to support their position biblically.⁷ He said, "Personally, I believe in 'open communion;' ecclesiastically, I practice 'close communion'. . . ."⁸ A great stir occurred in the Philadelphia Baptist Ministers' Conference in 1874 as a result of Boardman's supposed heterodoxy. The question, "whether membership in a Scriptural church [for which read "baptism by immersion"] is essential to a proper participation in the Lord's supper," was apparently provoked by

¹"The Lord's Supper," Baptist Quarterly Review, IX (July, 1887), 320-36.

²Ibid., p. 331. ³Ibid., p. 335. ⁴The Church, p. 82.

⁵Ibid., pp. 82-84. ⁶Ibid., p. 85. ⁷"The Lord's Supper," p. 333.

⁸The Christian Church, p. 6.

an agitated brother who had heard "that our Brother Boardman inculcates, but not publicly, views of the Lord's Supper which [are] subversive of Gospel order and contrary to our denominational Confession of Faith."¹ Asked to state his views, Boardman did so and then said, "After this expression of my views, whoever quotes me as an open Communionist, in the ordinary sense of the term, will quote me falsely."² Then the following motion was offered in the Conference:

We utterly repudiate the doctrine that the Ordinances are merely matters of personal privilege. . . . We unwaveringly affirm as ever of old, that the immersion of a believer in water . . . alone is baptism; that baptism is essential to membership in a Scriptural church; that membership in a Scriptural church is essential to a proper participation in the Lord's Supper

Recognizing in the views against which we have protested the development of a latitudinarian tendency which seeks to remove every ancient landmark, break down every form of faith, and inaugurate a creedless communion, and recognizing further our official responsibility as ministers of Jesus Christ, . . . we . . . record our solemn determination to hold no fellowship with views so lax, unscriptural, and dangerous.³

Boardman spoke against the resolution and offered a substitute which called attention to the "Right of private Judgment" especially in things not clearly manifest in the Bible, among which he would place the communion question.⁴ He opposed the original resolution further because it would prescribe a "test of orthodoxy" and constitute "an invasion of the Rights of Conscience and Private Judgment."⁵ He urged his colleagues to let the Second London Confession of 1868 be their guide and leave the question unresolved until the Parousia.⁶ His substitute motion lost; voting

¹Unidentified newspaper clipping in Boardman papers, ABHS. ²Ibid.

³Philadelphia Baptist Ministers' Conference, Minutes, III, p. 246.

⁴Ibid., p. 247. ⁵Ibid. ⁶Ibid.

on the original motion was postponed two weeks at which time it passed.¹ A few years later Boardman resigned--at least wrote a letter of resignation--from the Ministers' Conference because he felt it had become "un-Baptist" and "authoritarian."² If he did send the letter--which is by no means certain--it is unlikely that it was accepted; or if it was accepted, Boardman must have had a change of heart toward the Conference, for his brother ministers feted him in 1889 on his twenty-fifth anniversary and a few years later chose him to be their representative at the Hague Peace Conference.³ There was no change of his views, however; he continued to "inculcate" them. In 1901, upon publication of The Church, Henry C. Vedder of Crozer Seminary wrote to disagree with his statements on the communion question; Boardman responded with the familiar defense--what does the Bible say?--and re-assured Vedder, "I am not a controversialist, either by temperament, by habit, or by principle."⁴

Another issue on which Boardman differed--at least in emphasis--with his brother Baptists was that of church membership for children. He feared that his brethren tended to demand adult religion from children and that they therefore were too cautious about giving "undue encouragement to chil-

¹Ibid., p. 250; R. B. McDanel, "History of the Philadelphia Baptist Conference: 1824-1898" (unpub. MS in ABHS), discusses the whole controversy but mentions no names, pp. 93-105.

²G. Boardman to Phila. Baptist Ministers' Conference, Jan. 6, 1880, in Boardman papers, ABHS.

³The Twenty-fifth Anniversary, p. 26; R. G. Torbet, A Social History of the Philadelphia Baptist Association: 1707-1940 (Philadelphia: Westbrook Publishing Co., 1944), p. 222.

⁴Vedder to Boardman, June 28, 1901; Boardman to Vedder, July 10, 1901 (both in Boardman papers, ABHS).

dren . . . that they are children of God."¹ Boardman pointed to Jesus' demand for childlikeness among his disciples and inferred that "little children are of all persons the most likely to become Christians."² The little child

does not have to unlearn long years of self-complacency, distrustfulness, craftiness, stubbornness, waywardness, selfishness before he can enter the child-state: he is in the child-state already, and the child-state is prerequisite to the heavenly. To expect . . . the early conversion of children . . . is profoundly philosophical: for it is in entire harmony with the very genius of Christianity.³

Since Christianity had been gradually penetrating society for a long time, Boardman thought it unreasonable to expect that the conversion of a child reared in a Christian home environment should be accompanied by the radical changes which might well be involved in the life of an adult who has just emerged "from paganism or open immoralities."⁴ He was inclined to think, moreover, that conversion took place much earlier in life than most of his contemporaries were willing to grant, and said:

I firmly believe that as soon as a child can speak and understand the word "father" in its earthly sense, he can in its heavenly; that as soon as he can know that it is right to obey his parents and wrong to disobey them, he can know the difference between piety and wickedness; that as soon as he can voluntarily sin, he can be divinely pardoned; that as soon as he can be a child of the Devil, he can be a child of God.⁵

The danger lay, not in allowing children to come, but in preventing them from coming by "unauthorized conditions of salvation" and manufactured "tests of Christian piety."⁶ The early conversion of children was Board-

¹The Kingdom, p. 44. ²Ibid., p. 42. ³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. 43. ⁵Ibid., pp. 43f. ⁶Ibid., pp. 44f.

man's "real hope for mankind" and the missionary venture of the church.¹ Since the law of heredity can work for good as well as evil, converted children are the hope of the future.² He fully agreed with Horace Bushnell's faith in "the out-populating power of the Christian stock" and called for Christian missions to enter partnership with the law of heredity.³ Casting aside infant baptism as unscriptural and the Puritan half-way covenant as superficial, still he urged some type--he did not specify what--of "infant church membership," perhaps involving a probationary period followed by confirmation.⁴ There is no indication that he actually followed through with the idea.

With respect to the doctrine of the atonement, Boardman was inclined to deny what Baptists commonly held, viz., that the death of Christ was an "expiatory sacrifice."⁵ He understood the shedding of Christ's blood to symbolize not death but life.⁶ One is not saved "by faith in Christ's blood as being the expiatory price of God's appeasement and satisfaction."⁷ That he called "pagan superstition;" salvation is really provided

by faith in Christ's blood as being the loving representative of his own outpoured life. . . . The personal appropriation of Christ's character and work is the culminating sample of the "transfusion of blood."⁸

Baptists in those days were debating whether and how much liturgy should have a part in their worship. On this issue again Boardman took a progressive view. He perceived correctly that "non-liturgical" churches

¹The Church, p. 62. ²Ibid. ³Ibid., pl. 63. ⁴Ibid., pp. 63f.

⁵See e.g., G. W. Samson, "The Atonement," in Jenkins, op. cit., p. 412.

⁶Ethics of the Body, p. 131. ⁷Ibid., p. 128. ⁸Ibid., pp. 128-30.

do have a liturgy of sorts; the only question is how much there should be.¹ He deplored the prevailing practice of letting "a vicarious officiator"--the minister--perform most of the devotional exercises and called for more congregational singing, chanting, and extemporaneous--unwritten but not unpremeditated--prayers, as well as set forms.² He said, I think we can with great propriety in the house of God have more of the liturgical spirit and more of the liturgical form."³ To implement some of his views, he devised a simple order of service for the Lord's Supper which gave the congregation ample opportunity to share in the reading, singing, and praying.⁴ It was his custom also to hold a Thanksgiving Day "liturgical service" each year.⁵ The question of celebrating Christmas and Easter bothered some Baptists, but Boardman sided with Horace Bushnell, who had said,

We need to keep fixed times, or appointed rounds of observances, as truly as to have a spirit of duty; to be in the drill of observance as well as in the liberty of faith.⁶

The need for giving recognition to women in the Christian ministry concerned Boardman. He saw that there had been a group of ministering women in the New Testament and that that need had persisted due to the simple requirements of human nature.⁷ The church ought to recognize the place of women in the church in some way, not necessarily by "orders and

¹The Church, pp. 113f. ²Ibid., pp. 120-27; cf. supra, p. 26.

³Proceedings of the Baptist Autumnal Conference, 1884, pp. 88f.

⁴Order of Service for Celebrating the Lord's Supper (n.p., n.n., n.d.), 3 leaves.

⁵Register, p. 339. ⁶Cited in The Church, p.113.

⁷"The Sacred Itinerary," Our Church Homes, III (Aug., 1889), 2.

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titles" but by some kind--he had no idea what--of consecration.¹ Since there have always been more women members than men in the church, since there are some things that women naturally do better than men, and since women are "Heaven's natural evangelists," the church should take note and meet their needs.² Evidence that he did any more than suggest is lacking.

A passion for Christian unity prevented him from being an uncritical, rabid denominationalist. A circular emanating from the American Baptist Publication Society was to have had his endorsement, but he refused to endorse "anything which appeals so strongly to denominational instincts and interests."³ He wrote the secretary of the Publication Society:

For many years I have felt that denominationalism is one of the chief stumbling-blocks in the way of the triumph of Christianity. Accordingly, instead of maximizing the points where the sects differ and minimizing the points where they agree, I have felt it to be our grand duty to maximize the points where we agree and minimize the points where we differ. . . . Denominational truth is good; but Christian truth is a great deal larger and better. . . ."⁴

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., cf. The Church, pp. 130-34. It was certainly Boardman's experience that there were more women than men in the church. From 1878 to 1894 he baptized 334 persons only 105 of whom were males (Pastor's Reports, 1878-94, passim).

³Boardman to B. Griffith, Jan. 20, 1891, in Boardman papers, ABHS.

⁴Ibid; see also infra, pp. 127ff.

C. Denominational Activities

Not until after Boardman's death did Baptists in the North attain any kind of centralized organization. The various facets of denominational life were in his day all carried out by autonomous voluntary societies.¹ Notwithstanding, pretty much the same people belonged to all the societies, and the large national societies generally met at the same time and place for the annual "May meetings."² The three principal societies were the American Baptist Missionary Union--earlier called the Triennial Convention and later the American Baptist Foreign Missions Society--, the American Baptist Home Missions Society, and the American Baptist Publication Society. Boardman regularly attended the meetings and was active in the work of the various societies.³ He preached the annual sermon for the Publication Society in 1865 and addressed the missionary group in 1867.⁴ He served four successive terms as president of the Missionary Union.⁵

In many of the lesser Baptist organizations Boardman also held membership. He belonged to the Pennsylvania Baptist General Association, the Philadelphia Baptist Ministers' Conference, the American Baptist Education Society, the Pennsylvania Baptist Education Society, the American Baptist Historical Society, the Baptist Congress, and the boards of Cro-

¹S. S. Hill, Jr., and R. G. Torbet, Baptists--North and South (Valley Forge: The Judson Press, 1964), pp. 19f.; and W. S. Hudson, "Stumbling into Disorder," Foundations, I (April, 1958), 45-71.

²The National Baptist (Philadelphia), May 5, 1867, pp. 2f. ³Ibid.

⁴The Examiner and Chronicle (New York), June 1, 1865, p. [2]; and ibid., May 27, 1869, p. 3.

⁵Keen, op. cit., p. 115.

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zer Theological Seminary, Rochester Theological Seminary, and Columbian
[now George Washington] University.¹

¹His own notes in Boardman papers, ABHS.

1. Presidency of the American Baptist Missionary Union

Although son and stepson of missionaries, George Boardman seems never to have entertained any notions of becoming a missionary himself. He was nonetheless long involved in the support of the foreign missions enterprise through the American Baptist Missionary Union. For four years--1880-84--he served as president of the Union, a position which though largely honorary gave him opportunity to speak his mind on issues pertinent to missions.¹

Thoroughly committed to the fulfilling of the Great Commission, he wrote:

Our King still says: "Go ye into all the world, and announce the evangel to the whole creation. Make not one solitary exception. Whatever the territory,--Palestine, Asia, Africa, Europe, America, Isles of the Seas;--whatever the religion,--Hebrew, Buddhist, Confucian, Mohammedan, Fetich,--whatever the character,--Pharisee, Sadducee, blasphemer, drunkard, harlot, felon,--go tell them all that they are my kinsfolk, and that my Father and their Father calls them back to his Throne and bosom; the Kingdom of God is to rule over them all."²

He understood the missionary task in far deeper terms than mere soul-saving. Consistent with his view of the whole man, he called for missions to present "Christianity in its ideal completeness--salvation of the entire man, spirit and soul and body."³ Nor did he limit the goal of missions to mere personal salvation. He believed that Paul, the first missionary, had been called to bring about a "universal brotherhood and a cosmopolitan religion."⁴ Christian missions should operate on the belief that "neighborhood does not consist in local nearness" or the nearness of

¹Keen, op. cit., pp. 115, 117. ²The Kingdom, p. 237.

³The Church, pp. 138f. ⁴Ibid., p. 24.

"ward, or city, or state, or nation," or family relationship, or politics, or religion; "neighborhood means a glad readiness to relieve distress wherever found."¹ He envisioned the gospel spreading to the extent that "the true comity of nations, the first convocation of 'The Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World' would be the outcome."² Christian foreign missions would solve the problem of "true altruism" as well as the world's social and economic problems.³ Boardman staked his hopes for world peace and general human progress on the church's willingness to fulfill her mission, saying:

Humanity will reach her zenith, and take her crown only in the person of the Divine Man. Jesus Christ is the center of gravity, and it is only as the powers of society are pivoted on him that they are in balance.⁴

That the task of preaching the gospel to the world belonged to the whole church Boardman was certain. All members of the church belong to the one priesthood.⁵ On the mission field "the missionary is the Church's vicar."⁶ Perhaps with some current points of conflict between churches at home and missionaries on the field in mind, Boardman went on to say:

In a sense profoundly--that is, ideally--true, the churches and the missionaries form but one personality. . . . Let this ideal dominate us on both sides the ocean, and there can be no trouble between sender and sent.

¹Ibid. ²Ibid., p. 26, quotation from "Locksley Hall," Tennyson.

³"The Missionary Spirit the World's Equilibrium," 1880 (clipping with no further identification in "Pamphlets" in FBC archives), unpag.

⁴Ibid.

⁵"Presidential Address," The Baptist Missionary Magazine, IXI (June, 1881), 171.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid., pp. 172ff.

His presidential address of 1882 reminds one of the mid-twentieth century discussions of "new structures" and "secular Christianity." Boardman ~~emphasized~~ how flexible the church had been as an institution, i.e., "in respect to her working polity," taking the New Testament as precedent.¹ The churches, therefore, should allow for maximum flexibility in missionary methods.² He saw in his own time that Christianity was confronting a new stage in "the unfolding of God's providential plan," viz., an emphasis on the physical needs of people.³ "Jesus Christ," he said, "came not to bestow a partial salvation; he came to save the entire man, man's body not less than man's spirit. . . ."⁴ Because the professional missionaries had always been and would probably continue to be occupied primarily with preaching and teaching, he called for massive reinforcements of lay-missionaries who would concentrate on reaching men through the amelioration of bodily needs--even as Jesus had done.⁵ When all is said and done, he said, "man's moral nature is, practically speaking, the most easily reached through his bodily nature."⁶ Thus, Boardman challenged the members of the Missionary Union:

Why should we not send forth missionary carpenters, engineers, shipbuilders, farmers; with the one hand offering to the natives the gospel of our King, and with the other hand teaching them how to build houses, bridges, ships, telegraphs; how to unfold undreamed capacities of soils; how to enshrine in type an uplifting Christian literature? Why should not the sons of light

¹"The Lay Element in the Missionary Field," The Baptist Missionary Magazine, LXII (June, 1882), 169f.

²Ibid. ³Ibid., p. 170. ⁴The Church, p. 136. ⁵Ibid., p. 138.

⁶Ibid., p. 139.

learn wisdom from the sons of this aeon, and make the largest possible use of God's resources? Why should not the Church of the Cross, animated by a diviner spirit than any military or commercial, emulate the enterprising example of Phoenicia, Greece, Rome, Spain, Holland, France, Great Britain, colonizing heathendom in the interests of Christianity and Immanuel?¹

He further asked his fellow ministers to give free rein to laymen in the work of missions: "Trust the laity, asking them to work as well as to give, and they will follow you to the ends of the earth."² As a means of implementing his proposal he called for the establishment of missionary colleges which would offer combined secular and religious training for lay workers.³ The idea had come to him from seeing in Canterbury, England, a Church of England missionary college which offered theological instruction as well as training in building, sewing, repairing, printing, and elementary medicine.⁴ Why, then, he asked, should "young and enterprising America lag behind old and conservative England?"⁵ Let the churches begin to "secularize Christianity in order to Christianize secularity."⁶ Boardman went so far as to allow that Paul's work making tents during the week was at least "as effective gospel service in heathen Corinth" as his sabbath synagogue disputations.⁷

Although it is not clear to what degree he became involved in the arrangements for comity on mission fields, it is quite clear that he approved of the idea.⁸

¹Ibid., pp. 139f. ²"The Lay Element," p. 173. ³Ibid.

⁴The Church, p. 140. ⁵Ibid. ⁶Ibid., p. 52.

⁷Ibid., p. 140. ⁸Infra, p. 137.

2. Promotion of Ministerial Education

Both in Rochester and in Philadelphia George Boardman sought to encourage and support the training of ministers. In 1860 he was one of a committee which sponsored a resolution before the Monroe Baptist Association in behalf of ministerial education.¹ In 1867 he attended the initial trustees' meeting of what was to become the next year Crozer Theological Seminary.² Before his own congregation he offered a "Plea for Ministerial Education" in 1868 and a few months later helped inaugurate the new seminary at Upland, Pennsylvania--transferred from the theological department of the University of Lewisburg [now Bucknell] at Lewisburg.³ As a member of the Pennsylvania Baptist Education Society, whose principal aim was to provide Christian collegiate and seminary training, he urged that financial aid go not only to young men but also to young women.⁴

He was directly involved in the training of ministers through his occasional lectures at the various seminaries. He gave a lecture on "Pulpit Preparation" at Rochester Theological Seminary, Newton Theological Institution, and Chicago University.⁵ "Ministerial Proprieties" was the subject of another lecture given at five different schools, the first of which was Crozer.⁶

¹ Monroe Association Minutes, 1860, p. 10 ²Register, p. 332.

³Ibid.; R. G. Torbet, A History of the Baptists (Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1955), p. 338; H. G. Weston to Boardman, Nov. 3, 1897, in Boardman papers, ABHS.

⁴Boardman to Penn. Baptist Ed. Society, Nov. 13, 1887, in Boardman papers, ABHS.

⁵Unpublished notes, in Boardman papers, ABHS.

⁶Unpublished notes, in Boardman papers, ABHS.

Through his personal acquaintance and friendship with a number of ministerial students he was further involved in their education. One former student from Crozer recalled that

You had only to be a young man and interested in Christian culture, and he could not do too much for you. Many of the Crozer alumni look back upon their acquaintance with Doctor Boardman as one of the priceless features of their course.¹

¹Bronk in Mrs. G. Boardman, op. cit., p. 10m.

3. Participation in the Baptist Congress

A unique platform for discussion and debate among interested Baptists was put together late in 1881 when a small group of men, including Boardman, formed what was at first called "The Baptist Autumnal Conference for the Discussion of Current Questions" and later known simply as "The Baptist Congress."¹ The Congress had its beginnings in a private meeting, November 28, 1881, at New York City, at which Boardman was elected chairman of the "general committee" which consisted on those who contributed five dollars a year.² The first gathering--over which Boardman presided--was a year later in Brooklyn.³

The purpose of the conclave was to provide a forum for discussing "current questions . . . in all branches of study, not only religious and ecclesiastical, but also educational, social, scientific, and philosophical," particularly questions on which Baptists had differences of opinion.⁴ The underlying philosophy of the Congress was that open discussion would provide the most favorable atmosphere for discerning truth.⁵

Dr. Boardman delivered papers at several of the annual fall meetings which were held in various cities including Buffalo, Toronto, Chicago, and Augusta, Georgia.⁶ His topics ranged from "Disarmament of Nations" and "The Organic Union of Christendom" to "Man's Fall and Redemption in the

¹Norman Fox, "The Baptist Congress," in A. H. Newman, op. cit., p. 289.

²Ibid. ³Ibid. ⁴Ibid., pp. 290f.

⁵E. C. Starr, "American Baptist Convention," in Davis C. Woolley, ed., Baptist Advance (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1964), p. 55.

⁶Ibid.

Light of Man's Evolution," all subjects of deep interest to him.¹ He also took part in discussions on the place of the Christian year and liturgy in Baptist churches.² For a number of years he continued to serve as chairman of the "general committee."

The Congress reportedly never attracted a large gathering, although many of the most prominent Baptist leaders, representing various theological orientations, participated.³ Although it survived into the twentieth century, gradually other groups assumed its functions.⁴

¹"Disarmament of Nations," Proceedings of the Eighth Baptist Congress, 1889 (New York: Baptist Congress Publishing Co., 1890), pp. 184-93; "The Organic Union of Christendom," Proceedings of the Sixth Baptist Congress, 1887 (same publisher, 1888), pp. 2-12; "Man's Fall and Redemption in the Light of Man's Evolution," Proceedings of the Baptist Congress at Buffalo, New York, 1898 (same publisher, 1898), pp. 18-28.

²Proceedings, 1892, p. 22; Proceedings, 1884, pp. 88f.

³Starr, loc. cit.

⁴Ibid.

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CHAPTER VII

CATHOLIC CHRISTIAN

Although a convinced Baptist, George Dana Boardman was for all of that no less a man of "broad and catholic spirit."¹ It will be remembered that the two men who had most influenced him--Francis Wayland and Martin B. Anderson--had been men of broad Christian sympathies.² In his generosity of spirit Boardman went beyond merely treating non-Baptists as fully Christian brethren; throughout his career he preached, wrote, traveled, and organized for a greater realization of the unity of the church. The common impression that "ecumenism" belongs peculiarly to the present century may need some correction when Boardman's work for a united Christendom is understood.

A. The Church as the Body of Christ

In the first four months of his ministry in Philadelphia Dr. Boardman preached on the subject of the "church" on two occasions. On November 27, 1864, he spoke from Ephesians 1:22,23 on "The Church, Christ's Body;" about six weeks later, January 8, 1865, he expounded from Ephesians 4:4-6 on "The Unity of the Church."³ Although he did not maintain

¹Dr. William Pepper in The Twenty-fifth Anniversary, p. 33.

²Supra, pp. 22ff; 34f.

³Register, p. 325.

that proportion of preaching on the one subject, this early emphasis is certainly indicative of his concern for the body of Christ.

Endeavoring always to proceed from the "ideal"--Platonically speaking--church to the actual and then back to the "ideal," Boardman paid close attention to the biblical symbolic representations of the church, e.g., "temple of God," "body of Christ," and "kingly priesthood."¹ Of these the symbol of the church as the body of Christ occupied him most. The symbol, or "analogon," of the body he considered "so profound and vital" as to "outlive all theories of Christian society."² The body imagery was not, of course, to be pressed in all its details but was to be understood "ideally or hintwise."³ The symbol was no less real or true, for as Boardman often said, "Ideas are often the truest of truths."⁴ The body of Christ symbol suggested to him that

as the human body is a single organism, consisting of one head and many different organs and functions--all balanced in common counterpoise and working in mutual interaction; so Christ and his church is a single moral organism, consisting in like manner of many diversities, balanced in similar counterpoise, and working in similar interaction.⁵

The implications of the analogy of the body for the actual church were plain--at least to Boardman. First, the body, composed of head and members, is a single organism, "one personality."⁶ There is but one head--"the Lamb of God is no hydra-headed monster."⁷ As there is but one head, there can be but one body--no room for monstrosity in the body either.⁸

¹The Church, p. 169. ²Ibid., p. 190. ³Ibid., p. 192. ⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid. ⁶Ibid., p. 193. ⁷Ibid. ⁸Ibid., pp. 193f.

Second, the term "body" implies diversity in the component members: "the church is not all conscience or reason or sensibility or will or creed or polity or minister or laymen or sex."¹ Uniformity is indicative of low forms of life, if of any life at all: "dead things are uniform, live things are multi-form."² In all the universe Boardman saw no "finer instance of differentiation and specialization" than the "myriad-fold diversity" of the Christian church with all its "organs, gifts, opinions, methods, achievements."³

A third implication of the body-concept is "community of life."⁴ The diversity within the body makes possible its unity; the body is not a "unit"--one in the sense of numerical singleness"--but a "unity"--one in the sense of harmonious pluralness" contributing to the proper functioning of all the parts for a common purpose.⁵ As Christians cooperate in discharging their particular functions within the body, the church's unity is realized.⁶ Fourth, the ideal church, when it does operate under one head and recognize the need for diversities in mutual relation, achieves "undivided, concentrated effectiveness."⁷ Boardman, so impressed with the "majestic ideal organism" suggested by the body analogy, said:

We shall never rise to a higher or truer conception of the Christian Ecclesia than under this biologic analogue of the bodily organism. We outlive human creeds; we shall never outlive divine biology.⁸

When Boardman turned from contemplating the "ideal" church to look-

¹Ibid., pp. 194f. ²Ibid., pp. 195f. ³Ibid., p. 196.

⁴Ibid., p. 197. ⁵Ibid. ⁶Ibid., p. 198. ⁷Ibid. ⁸Ibid., p. 199.

ing at the actual church, he saw anything but a harmoniously functioning organism. On every hand he beheld "painful disunity," "internecine strife," evil sectarianism, needless duplication and expense, dissipation of spiritual life, scandal to the outsider, and retarded moral progress.¹ Denominationalism, or sectarianism, appeared infantile to him, and he said, "I am inclined to think that sectarianism is the church's mightiest obstacle in her march to New Jerusalem."² However, in spite of this "most deplorable state of things," the real spiritual church has a unity.³ Christians are essentially one, although incidentally "many and militant."⁴ United in morality, commandments, and truth, they are yet rent by ceremonies, legalism, and human interpretations.⁵ The one organism--the "Divine Society"--persists above, beyond, and in spite of the many organizations calling themselves "church."⁶

It is important to note, however, that Boardman never considered denominations--"sects" as he often called them--wrong or evil in themselves. He knew that there could be no church or Kingdom of God without churches or organizations of some kind.⁷ The preservation and spread of Christianity depend on ecclesiastic forms of some sort; the man who disparages the local church Boardman gave no place in the "Divine Church."⁸ Each sect, in fact, has its own God-given mission--"in so far as it has the spirit of Christ!"⁹ For example, Roman Catholicism uniquely appeals to the senses; Presbyterianism contributes keen theological thinking;

¹Ibid., pp. 141ff. ²Ibid., p. 143. ³Ibid., p. 144. ⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid. ⁶Ibid., pp. 166f. ⁷Ibid. ⁸Ibid.

⁹"The Mission of the Society of Friends . . . October 22, 1882," (n.n., n.p., n.d.), reprinted as "Heresies," The Chronicle, XI (Jan., 1948), 46; cf. The Church, pp. 147-49.

Episcopalianism enriches with its liturgy; Methodism stirs by its activism; the Quakers remind the whole church of the need for meditation; Congregationalism emphasizes individuality; the Baptists provide an example of exacting obedience to the Bible.¹ The whole church benefits by these diversities, and any one sect--e.g., Baptists--could well profit "by a little infusion of the Presbyterian polity, the Episcopalian aesthetics, the Methodist discipline, the Quaker simplicity."² Differences were to Boardman not only a fact but also necessary and beneficial.³ The denominations erred not in what they held dear but in what they had overlooked.⁴ In the ideal church all hold together, even as all truth is in Christ.

On the basis of Boardman's understanding of the body symbol of the church and the place of the various sects within the larger unity, he urged a unified Christendom. There was, however, some development in his thinking as to how this unity should be realized.

¹The Church, pp. 147f. ²Ibid.

³The Unity of the Church (New York: Church and Home Publishing Co., 1888), p. 23.

⁴The Church, p. 153.

B. The "Irenicon"

In 1891 Boardman attended the Florence, Italy, gathering of the Evangelical Alliance at which he read a paper, The Coming Ideal Church, although the topic assigned him was "International Christian Cooperation."¹ The church of the future, he said, would be constructed along the following lines: it would take the Bible alone as its standard of authority; discipleship to Christ as its creed, flexibility for its organization--"adjusting itself to passing environments," baptism--by immersion, of course --for its mode of admission, Presbyterianism --"a form which is natural to all executive bodies"--as its system of government, Episcopal coordination as its headship, the Methodist discipline as its modus operandi, flexibility for its liturgy, personal communion with Christ as the terms of admission to communion, and the voluntary system as its means of financial support.² An observer considered the address "eloquent," but noted correctly how idealistic Boardman had been in dwelling, "somewhat more than the title ["International Christian Cooperation"] demanded, on the church of the future."³

By the time of his retirement from the pastoral ministry, three years after offering his "Irenicon"--as he referred to it--at Florence, Boardman was not quite so enthused about his plan for unification. Perhaps the

¹The Coming Ideal Church (n.n., n.p., n.d.); Evangelical Christendom, XLV (N.S. XXXII) (May, 1891), 156.

²The Christian Church, A Sermon, . . . May 13, 1894 (np, n.n., n.d.), p. 23fn.

³W. Sandford, "The Florence Conference," Evangelical Christendom, XLV (N.S. XXXII) (May, 1891), 167.

delegates at Florence and others had not rallied in support of his idea. Maybe he saw how impossible of fulfillment his vision was. At any rate, he told his Philadelphia congregation in his farewell sermon to them, "You can organize an external organization--that is man's work. You cannot organize an internal organism--that is God's work."¹ He perceived that all human attempts--including his own--to bring about organizational unity were doomed to be "moral failures."² Of his dream of three years previous he said, "I have grown wiser since."³

For the rest of his life he continued to work for a united Christianity, but along slightly different lines. He joined in the "League of Catholic Unity," formed by representatives of the three major polities, who offered a cautious plan for unifying Christians. Representatives of congregational polity in the "League" were David N. Beach, Amory H. Bradford, and Boardman; of episcopal, Edwin Abbott, William Reed Huntington, William Chauncy Langdon, and Henry W. Satterlee; and of presbyterian, Charles A. Briggs, Edwin B. Coe, Charles Cuthbert Hall, and Charles W. Shields.⁴ They accepted the four principles of unity which the Episcopal bishops had adopted at Chicago in 1886 and amended at Lambeth in 1888, viz., the Scripture as the rule of faith, the Apostles' creed as the subsidiary standard, the two sacraments, and the historic episcopate, and

¹The Christian Church, pp. 23f. ²Ibid. ³Ibid., footnote.

⁴"League of Catholic Unity," typewritten document in Boardman papers, ABHS, undated, p. [4].

declared:

We believe that upon the basis of these four principles as articles of agreement, the unification of the Christian denominations of this country may proceed, cautiously and steadily, without any essential alteration of their existing standards of doctrine, polity, and worship; and with only such concessions as they might reasonably make in a spirit of love and harmony, for the sake of unity and for the furtherance of all the great ends of the Church of Christ on earth.¹

Boardman made it clear to a newspaper reporter that the "League" was working for unity along the lines of a religious confederacy, not the absurd idea of reuniting a Christendom that was never united in the first instance.² With regard to the thorny question of re-ordination Boardman foresaw that the non-Episcopalians would accept re-ordination "not however because they abandon the validity of their own ordination, but because they are willing to accept technical re-ordination" to help bring about Christian unity.³ "Concession not compromise" was the byword.⁴

The position to which Boardman ultimately came was no radical departure from what he had urged all along. The main difference was in the method of achieving Christianity's unification. His "mature" thinking, *etc.*, what he expressed in his last major book, The Church, in the end really holds back from offering any one method; rather he was content to share his long cherished vision--the comprehensive church.⁵

¹Ibid., pp. [1]f. ²Philadelphia Press, June 18, 1895, (c).

³Ibid. ⁴Ibid.

⁵The Church, pp. 141-57; for substantially the same material see his "The Doctrine of the Church" in A. H. Bradford, ed., Christ and the Church (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1895), pp. 135-63. The latter was delivered before the American Institute of Christian Philosophy at Chatauqua, July, 1894.

C. Vision of the Comprehensive Church

The unification--not--reunion--of Christendom was, said Boardman, a most desirable goal, provided the nature of true unity be understood.¹ He was very certain how unity was not to be realized. It could not come about "by decreeing Church Uniformity," a "human manufacture" which is against all the analogies of nature and is fraught with peril.² He warned:

See how, in the case of Rome, the church has tended to supplant the Bible; the Pope, our King. Thus the very uniformity of Romanism (and there is no splendor sample of homogeneousness) is morally perilous, tending to extinguish individualism and to deify churchism, and so annihilating the very idea of unity.³

Nor will unity arrive when sects have been abolished, since each has a divine mission.⁴ No more can unity be secured by compromise. While compromise may frequently be proper in policy and method, it is never right "in matters of principle or duty."⁵ Boardman eyed with considerable distrust "the boneless, pulpy compromiser" who would give up his convictions for unity's sake: "he who begins with being false to himself will end with being false to everybody else."⁶

The church can unite only by "comprehension."⁷ Comprehension implies not exclusion but inclusion; in words which echo Francis Wayland very closely Boardman included within the church "anybody and everybody, of whatever sect or of not sect at all, who can be described by that

¹The Church, p. 145. ²Ibid., pp. 145f. ³Ibid. ⁴Ibid., p. 147.

⁵Ibid., p. 149. ⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid., p. 150. Neither the term nor the idea of comprehension was originated by Boardman. It was used in seventeenth century England by R. Baxter and others; the latitudinarian John Tillotson prepared an "Act of Comprehension" in 1689.

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august word 'Christian'. . . ."¹ This concept of comprehending all diversities under one roof he considered the "modern contribution to ecclesiology."² Formerly Christian unity had been sought on the basis of similarities; "the new method is to recognize diversities."³ When each sect is fulfilling its mission as "a facet in God's great diamond of truth," then will be seen "the dazzling white light" of unity.⁴ Comprehension can go forward by occasional exchanges of the various Christian understandings of Bible truth; representatives of the various denominations should convene occasionally and up-date one another and profit by the mutual exchange.⁵ Boardman became convinced that the perfect unity could come neither by "resolutions of conventions [nor] decrees of councils but by the gradual permeation of Christian sentiment throughout Christendom."⁶ Christians ought to soft-pedal denominationalism while continuing to operate denominationally "in reciprocal cooperation."⁷ The details of managing this reciprocity he left to others to work out.

He refused to let the problem of unification be shunted aside as "girlish sentimentalism" or "sweet privilege" when in truth it was not a matter of option but "the most imperial of the commandments."⁸ Nor was he discouraged about the prospects for unity; all the signs of the time pointed to comprehension as rapidly approaching. "Growing catholicity" was everywhere evident in

international arbitration; international law; international congresses for securing a common standard of time, of distance, of money, of signals; international Sunday school lessons; the world's fairs; the world's week of prayer; the numerous

¹Ibid., p. 151; supra, p. 24. ²Ibid., p. 152. ³Ibid. ⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., p. 153. ⁶Ibid. ⁷Ibid., pp. 154f. ⁸Ibid., pp. 155f.

union societies throughout Christendom; the Evangelical Alliance; Young Men's Christian Associations; Christian Endeavor Societies [etc., etc.]¹

Interdenominational youth organizations--such as the King's Sons and King's Daughters--encouraged him, as did the idea of church federation.² He smiled approvingly upon "the overtures of a liturgical and the responses of at least some non-liturgical churches" concerning closer unity.³ "Interdenominational salutations" and "the growing comity" on mission fields cheered him.⁴ He saw the day coming when the world would be "one Jerusalem," and all days one perpetual Pentecost, wherein the unity of mankind, lost at Babel, [would] be restored. . . ."⁵ A Baptist who reviewed Boardman's address on Christian unification at Chatauqua found the rarified atmosphere in which Boardman moved most uncomfortable; the "ideal" of "comprehension" was to the reviewer "beyond mortal apprehension."⁶

His comprehensive vision at times took in even broader horizons than mere Christendom. At the Columbian Exposition in 1893 at Chicago a Parliament of Religions was convened, embracing religious representatives from all the world's major faiths.⁷ The purpose of the meeting was not to "array one form of religion against another form of religion; but to array (if possible) all religions against all irreligion."⁸ Boardman, who gave the Parliament's closing address on the Lord's Prayer, reported on the proceedings to his fellow ministers.⁹ Religion--singular--needs to be understood as common to all men of whatever faith, in the sense of

¹Ibid., pp. 156f. ²Ibid. ³Ibid. ⁴Ibid. ⁵Ibid.

⁶The Watchman (New York), July 4, 1895, p. 848.

⁷Mrs. G. Boardman, op. cit., p. 107. ⁸Ibid. ⁹Ibid.

worship.¹ Religions--plural--are, he said, men's objective structures, largely "matters of topography, race, temperament, environment."² Christianity, however, is the "one really inclusive" religion, "the only true, adequate religion for mankind."³ The Parliament of Religions had showed him that God is larger than any local gods, including "the ecclesiastical God of Christendom," and that God-fearing, righteous men of every land are accepted by God.⁴ That men are at bottom religious provides a "human basis for the possibility of human redemption and perfection . . . and . . . brotherhood."⁵ The unity of all men in Christ was made real to Dr. Boardman as the entire company of delegates to the Parliament joined in repeating the Lord's Prayer in the morning devotional services.⁶

In the closing year of his life he went even a step further. He proposed that "all Mankind should cooperate in the essentials of Religion;" the "essentials" or "fundamental principles" of cooperation which he offered were "Supreme Love to God and Altruistic Love to Man."⁷ As always he distinguished between the essential--man's worship-instinct--and the incidental--men's forms of worship. On the former all religious men could unite.⁸

Thus the vision of comprehension which had begun in the hope of some form of organizational unity came to embrace all men in a dream of brotherhood under God.

¹Ibid., p. 107f. ²Ibid., p. 108. ³Ibid., p. 109. ⁴Ibid., p. 112.

⁵Ibid., p. 113.

⁶Ibid.; on the Parliament as a whole, see J. H. Barrows, ed., The World's Parliament of Religions (Chicago, 1893).

⁷Boardman to P. Carus, June 18, 1902, in Boardman papers, ABHS.

⁸Ibid.

D. Unifying Efforts

In addition to his verbal advocacy of Christian unity and the activities in its behalf discussed above Boardman attempted to bring it about locally. Along with the nearby Methodist and Presbyterian churches First Baptist of Philadelphia joined in united evangelistic meetings on at least one occasion.¹ He also instituted interdenominational union services on Good Friday among several churches.² At the 1887 Baptist Congress he spoke on the "Unity of the Church; or The Problem of Ecclesiastical Unity."³

The Brotherhood of the Kingdom--of which he was a founding member--was begun by Baptists but soon became interdenominational. It provided him an additional forum for speaking in behalf of Christian unification, as e.g., in 1898 when he addressed the Brotherhood on "The Basileia and the Ecclesia."⁴

In 1891 he wrote a brief open letter--"Irenicon" he called it--which was disseminated across the country. In the letter he called for the continuation of denominations but only as a means of serving the "Corporate Whole" of the church.⁵ He asked:

If the whole church were only one cyclopi-
an Congregational eye, or one colossal Methodist ear, or one
gigantic Lutheran nose, or one stupendous Episcopal hand, or
one enormous Presbyterian thumb, or one measureless Baptist
foot--where were Christ's one, yet many-membered body?⁶

¹Undated handbill in Boardman papers, ABHS.

²O. W. Whitaker in Mrs. G. Boardman, op. cit., p. 26m.

³Unity of the Church; or, Problem of Ecclesiastical Unity (New York: Church and Home Publishing Co., 1888).

⁴Infra, pp. 170ff.

⁵Mrs. G. Boardman, op. cit., p. 91. ⁶Ibid.

The letter offered no scheme of unity except that Christians ought to receive one another as brethren.¹

Boardman's concern for a Christian approach to higher education--which a later chapter will discuss--was another avenue he walked in behalf of Christian unity.² He saw the many pitfalls, both practical and philosophical, involved in each denomination's attempt to operate its own schools. He saw also that the state could not fully educate since it lacked the integrating principle of Christ the Truth. Only some kind of cooperatively sponsored church education could adequately supply this educational gap. One means of achieving this, Boardman thought, would be the establishment of a national Christian university in Washington.³

To present a united Christian front in the cause of world peace Boardman allied himself with the Christian Arbitration and Peace Society of which he also served as president.⁴

Perhaps his most effective efforts in bringing Christians together were not in addresses, books, letters, or organizations but in personal dealings. He was everywhere known as a courteous Christian gentleman who practiced the catholicity he preached. A brother Baptist praised him for having done much to remove the opprobrium attached to the name Baptist in the eyes of other denominations by his "brotherly courtesy."⁵

¹Ibid., ²Infra, pp. 165ff.

³The idea of the university was probably A. H. Strong's, but having it in Washington was Boardman's plan. See infra, pp. 166f.

⁴The next chapter will discuss Boardman's work for peace, infra, pp. 141ff.

⁵George Rees in The Twenty-fifth Anniversary, p. 39.

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CHAPTER VIII

WORLD CITIZEN

A rather remarkable parallel prevails between George Dana Boardman's concern for Christian unity and his passion for world peace. Both occupied a large place in his career. The two similar yearnings were no mere coincidence in his life, for, as will shortly be seen, they both sprang from the same roots. His vision of a world at peace appears as the inevitable outgrowth of his ideal of a church united.

A. The "Irenic Son"

In an oblique reference Boardman once called himself "the irenic son of the Apostle to the Karens."¹ The appellation was appropriate for one who by temperament and training as well as career was a man of peace. Perhaps the traumatic experiences of his very early years did much to predispose him to peaceableness and gentleness.²

Sylvanus Boardman, George's Baptist preacher grandfather and one of the early influences on his life, was an ardent pacifist.³ Francis Wayland, his chief mentor, had been outspoken in his denunciation of war, ag-

¹Keen, *op. cit.*, p. 264. ²*Supra*, pp. 11ff.

³*Supra*, pp. 16f.

gression, and expansionism.¹ As a college student Boardman had also had some contact with Quakers for whom he always had the highest admiration.²

In the course of his career he habitually sought to build bridges of peace and understanding and to include rather than exclude. This was true in his scholarship as he tried to integrate all knowledge with the truth revealed in Christ. The same inclusiveness was seen in his dealings with fellow Baptists. It is nowhere more evident than in the endeavors to unite Christendom. George Boardman had no narrower horizons when he beheld the world of nations. The same unity he tried to achieve in the search for truth and in the Christian world, he longed for among all the people of the world. If he could have chosen one word with which to summarize his life's work, he preferred Eirene--peace--above all others.³

Irenic he was, and quite consistently so, as he talked, wrote, and hoped for the end of war and the beginning of disarmament, arbitration, and negotiated peace.

¹Supra, pp. 13f

²Supra, p. 19; cf. The Kingdom, p. 100.

³John Sparhawk in Mrs. G. Boardman, op. cit., p. 39m.

B. Theological Base of World Peace

Boardman operated on two theological foundations in advocating world peace and international cooperation. One was what were to him the very plain precepts of the Bible. The other was his concept of the corporate interdependence of all men and nations.

The Christian Scriptures--which to Boardman were of binding authority--spoke unequivocally against killing of any kind. Under the title The Testimony of Scripture Concerning Peace he published a compilation of Bible passages having to do with killing, war, aggression, and peace; he attempted no comment on the Scripture verses but let them stand alone.¹ In Studies in the Mountain Instruction he disavowed any kind of clever hermeneutics which restricted Jesus' precepts to individuals; Boardman applied them indifferently to individuals and to society at large. In the case of Jesus' teaching about retaliation he said, "If it is wicked for two men to settle their differences by a duel, how much more wicked for two millions of men!"² There was no doubt in his mind that war violated both "the entire genius of the New Testament" and "the Spirit of Christ Himself."³ He said:

The whole New Testament . . . is distinctly and emphatically against all war. . . . I do not think that you can cite from it a solitary statement that even hints that Jesus Christ or his apostles ever approved of physical war. . . . The only way in which you can defend war from the Bible is by quoting from an expurgated edition--striking out the whole New Testament or ministration of life, leaving only the Old Testament or ministration of death.⁴

¹(Philadelphia: John C. Winston Co., n.d.).

²Studies in the Mountain Instruction, p. 186. ³Ibid.

⁴"Disarmament of Nations" in Mrs. G. Boardman, op. cit., pp. 122f.

War in his eyes amounted to nothing more than "the most elaborate form of murder."¹ So antagonistic did he find the Bible to killing in any form that he praised the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals-- "Consign not that gentle institution to the limbo of sentimentalities"-- and called for restriction of vivisection.² When charged with utopianism Boardman simply pointed to William Penn's olive-branch approach to the Indians and said, "Obey Jesus Christ; and Utopia becomes actuality."³

In the same way that the church of Christ is one living body so Boardman viewed human society as one organism. He said, "The relation between men and men as being fellow members of the one great body of human society is a functional relation as real, vital, reciprocal, organic, as the relation between the fellow members of the human body."⁴ The application of the body analogy to society as well as to the church was, he said, "Christianity's positive, majestic contribution to Sociology."⁵ Mankind, ideally considered, is "a single moral organism."⁶ No truer concept of society can be found than in the "analogue" of the body.⁷ As in the church so in society the body has many members, diverse in nature and

¹Ethics of the Body, p. 59. ²The Ten Commandments, p. 190.

³Ibid., p. 207. At this point in the discussion it is interesting to note Boardman's defense of vegetarianism: "May I say a word in defense of vegetarianism? Did you never think that while the domesticated or useful animals--the cow, the ox, the horse--are vegetarian, the wild and destructive animals--the tiger, the wolf, the hyena--are carnivorous or flesh-eating? . . . In brief, might it not be as becoming for Christians of the twentieth century as for Christians of the first to abstain from blood and things strangled as well as from things sacrificed to idols and from fornication?" (Ethics of the Body, pp. 36f.). There is no indication that he actually was a vegetarian.

⁴"Corporate Society," p. 15. ⁵"Disarmament of Nations," p. 118.

⁶Ibid. ⁷Ibid., p. 119.

function; each nation, no less than each sect, has its own God-given mission in the "Social Body."¹ Seen in this light the one ideal body of humanity may benefit from:

Hebrew devoutness; Babylonian constructiveness; Egyptian seriousness; Greek culture; Roman jurisprudence; Indian (Asiatic) mysticism; Gothic impetuosity; Scandinavian valor; Chinese conservatism; Japanese flexibility; African docility; Indian (American) nomadism; Spanish pride; Italian estheticism; Roman persistence; Swiss federalism; French savoir faire; German philosophism; English indomitableness; Scotch shrewdness; Irish humor; Welsh eloquence; Canadian thrift; American versatility, etc.²

Thus, each nation, just because it is a nation with "its own Rôle definitely assigned it in the great drama of mankind," is international, not in competition with the other countries but in "integrant cooperation."³ Nationalism, seen ideally, really fulfills a function in internationalism.⁴

From Boardman's corporate view of society it logically follows that any war is both "international wounding" and "national self-maiming."⁵ An oft-recurring error of men had been, said he, the regarding of society as some sort of machine and resorting to "mechanical methods like war" to settle society's differences.⁶ If men could but come to understand that society is a "natural organism," they would soon turn to "natural methods like peace" to reconcile their differences.⁷ Boardman was certain that thinking men would be quick to realize that war in any form, either domestic or international, is at once suicide and murder and that war, not peace, "is the real stupidity."⁸ To resort to brute force would

¹Ibid. ²Ibid., pp. 120f. ³Ibid. ⁴Ibid., p. 122. ⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid. ⁷Ibid. ⁸Ibid.

mean reverting to "the animal's standard of ethics."¹

In brief, Boardman opposed war and worked for peace because he believed war contrary both to God's will and to the essential nature of human society.

¹The Ten Commandments, p. 206.

C. A Grown-up World

Not only did Boardman reckon war to be completely at odds with the constitution of ideal society, but he also was sure that the world had come of age so that very soon men could put away the childish things of warfare. He did not mean to say that all past wars had been wrong. He recognized that in times past, even the recent past, war may well have been a just course of action. Although it appears that he had always inclined toward pacifism, he did defend the cause of the North in the Civil War. In 1880 he said, "I say I cannot defend another war. I admit that my sentiments may change. They changed last time. I defended the war for the Union."¹ Indeed he did defend the war against the rebellious South. Two days prior to the crucial 1864 Presidential election he asked his congregation, "Shall we have a peace by maintaining with the sword God's ordinance of civil government, or by surrendering it?"² He declared that the war was a matter of obedience to God, fought to uphold "God's ordinance of civil government," against "mad insurgents."³ Four years earlier he had preached substantially the same sermon in Rochester.⁴

Nevertheless, the rightness of one war in the past did not necessarily justify any and all future wars. He said:

Our God is not a dead God. Our God is a God of movement; we cannot say of him, "He is asleep or on a journey." We live under a regime of progress. . . . What is absolutely wrong to-day may have been relatively right yesterday.⁵

¹Philadelphia Inquirer, Nov. 3, 1880 (c). ²Civil Government, p.=6.

³Ibid., pp. 5, 25.

⁴Loyalty to Law, the Duty of the Christian Patriot (New York: French and Wheat, 1860).

⁵"The Problem of Utopias," unpubl. MS in Boardman papers, ABHS, pp. 8f.

Examples of "relative rights" which had become "absolute wrongs" were polygamy, slavery, retaliation, and war.¹ He did not consider that new situations might make these relative rights again, since the "regime of progress" was prevailing.² Although he had no desire to dishonor the heroes of the Civil War, he felt forced to confess in 1889 that he could never defend another war until the parties to it had exhausted every peaceful means of settling their differences.³ He was particularly encouraged by the success of the Geneva arbitration in settling an international difference and looked on it as a harbinger of an era when negotiation would supplant war.⁴

In view of the world's fast approaching maturity Boardman challenged a number of "traditional assumptions and hereditary postulates" regarding international relations, viz., the inevitability of war and the consequent need of standing armies and the idea of insularity.⁵ The time had surely come for the youth of the world to be encouraged to ask such embarrassing questions as:

"Is it really true that we are living under a law of progress, so that what our fathers regarded as right may possibly be wrong today?" . . . Is it really true that 'vox populi' is always 'vox Dei'?" "Is it really true that there is such a thing as 'manifest destiny,' and if so, is 'manifest destiny' therefore always right?" . . . "Is it really true that 'victory' always means 'Providence,' so that Voltaire was right when he said that 'God is always on the side of the heaviest battalions'?" "May not polygamy and slavery as well as war be defended from the Bible?" "Does the founder of Christianity really teach war, or peace?" . . .⁶

¹Ibid. ²The Ten Commandments, p. 205. ³Ibid. ⁴Ibid., p. 206.

⁵"The Old Order Changeth," Mrs. G. Boardman, op. cit., p. 166.

⁶Ibid., pp. 166f.

The infantile world of the past mistakenly assumed and held:

That greatness consists in vastness;
That might consists in force;
That right consists in numbers;
That patriotism consists in following the flag;
That victory proves Providence;
That Old Testament is Christianity.¹

The world come of age, thought Boardman, would know:

That righteousness consists in altruism;
That patriotism consists in internationalism;
That chivalry consists in Beatitudes;
That manliness consists in Christliness.²

On the eve of the twentieth century he paused and, beholding with joy the growing internationalism, said:

Look backward from today, 1897, to the time when we had no International Sunday-school lessons; no interdenominational salutations and reciprocities; no interminglings of peoples; no International Court of Arbitration. Thank God for that word "inter."³

Happily the world was showing every sign of maturity. It was beginning to realize its ideal life as a corporate society.

¹Ibid., p. 170.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 172.

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D. The Call for Disarmament

In 1890 George Boardman offered a daring proposal. At the annual meeting of the Christian Arbitration and Peace Society--of which he was then president--held in Washington, he delivered an address calling for the great powers to disarm.¹ The audience included the Secretary of State, cabinet members, members of Congress, and members of the diplomatic corps; Justice Harlan of the Supreme Court presided.² Not until eight years later did Czar Nicholas II make his proposal for arms reduction which led to the international gathering at The Hague in 1899.³

After describing the essential nature of mankind as a corporate society and pointing out the utter stupidity of one member fighting any other, Boardman solemnly proclaimed his belief that his "Divine Master" was calling the nations to disarm.⁴ He offered no method for effecting disarmament but stood firmly in the conviction that the time had come for nations to "commit themselves openly to the policy."⁵ America in particular, he felt, ought to be the first to disarm; no nation could better afford to do so.⁶ Let America say to the rest of the world:

We believe that war is a foolish, antiquated, wicked policy. Let us disarm, referring our disputes not to the bloody decisions of capricious war, but to the peaceful arbitrament of Christian common-sense. Let us enter into a covenant of everlasting amity; organizing a peace league that shall be not only Pan-American, but also Pan-human. We Americans take

¹"Disarmament of Nations," p. [115], footnote. ²Ibid. ³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. 124. ⁵Ibid., pp. 124f. ⁶Ibid.

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the initiative in inviting all the nations of the earth to meet with us in that greatest of congresses, "The Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World."¹

He reiterated this dramatic plea for the stopping of the arms race at the Peace Congress held in conjunction with the Chicago World's Fair in 1893 as well as at the World's Peace Congress in London during the summer of 1890.²

¹Ibid., italics in original.

²Ibid., p. [115], footnote; Register, p. 398; The Daily News (London), July 14, 1890 (c). Before the open declaration in Washington, March, 1890, he shared his thinking with fellow Baptists at the 1889 Baptist Congress in Toronto. See Proceedings of the Baptist Congress, 1889, pp. 184-93.

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E. Peacemaking Efforts

In addition to publicly advocating a policy of disarmament as a means of bringing world peace, Boardman also made other peacemaking efforts, including his speaking and writing, membership in a number of peace societies, opposition to the Spanish-American War, and others.

Repeatedly in his books he denounced war: "The entire genius of the New Testament, not less than the spirit of Christ Himself is unquestionably against war."¹ In The Ten Commandments he said, "The time is fast passing by when statesmen will any longer cherish the juvenile, grotesque, barbarous fancy that a moral question . . . can be settled by gunnery."² He wrote in The Kingdom, "To prepare for peace by disarming is the most effectual means of preventing war."³ In Ethics of the Body he declared, "The most elaborate form of murder is war."⁴

He addressed the Baptist Congress in 1889 and the Chicago Peace Congress in 1893 on the subject of disarmament.⁵ The oft-repeated series of lectures, "Corporate Society," included substantially the position outlined above, viz., that mankind is one body and war is therefore both suicidal and murderous.⁶ Another address, "The Old Order Changeth," challenged fallacious assumptions concerning the inevitability of war and the need for standing armies.⁷ He firmly believed that the twentieth century would see "egotistic insularity" transformed "into altruistic terrestrialism" as he shared

¹Studies in the Mountain Instruction, p. 186. ²p. 206. ³p. 113.

⁴p. 59. ⁵Supra, p. 151. ⁶Supra, pp. 143ff.

⁷In Mrs. G. Boardman, op. cit., pp. [163]-72.

his "Christian Outlook for the Twentieth Century" [1898].¹

Another of his efforts at peacemaking was his work in a number of peace societies. One of these, the Christian Arbitration and Peace Society, he served as president.² He also held membership in the Pennsylvania Peace Society, the Universal Peace Union (London), the Boston Peace Society, the British National Peace Society, La Société de la Paix, International Bureau de la Paix, the Belgian Peace Society, and the International Arbitration and Peace Association.³ There has survived a document signed by Robert Treat Paine and Benjamin F. Trueblood certifying Boardman as a delegate of the American Peace Society to the Seventh International Peace Congress in 1895.⁴ He was also appointed unofficial delegate of the city of Philadelphia to the Czar's International Conference regarding a Permanent Tribunal of Arbitration in 1899.⁵

When conflict between the United States and Spain came to a head in 1898, Boardman was not slow to speak his conviction. On April 14, even before the sinking of the Maine, he sent a telegram to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee:

The disputes between America and Spain are questions of fact. As such they are to be settled by arbitration; they can never be settled by gunnery.

George Dana Boardman⁶

¹In Mrs. G. Boardman, op. cit., pp. [179]-83.

²Letterhead in Boardman papers, ABHS.

³In Mrs. G. Boardman, op. cit., p. 28m.

⁴In Boardman papers, ABHS. ⁵Mrs. G. Boardman, op. cit., p. 31m.

⁶Unidentified newspaper clipping in Boardman papers, ABHS.

In the weeks following, after Manila had been taken, he kept his pen busy.

To The Outlook he wrote:

I deny that under the new covenant, which largely moves in the inward sphere of spirit, especially in these closing days of the second millennium of Christianity, any war, however humane the pretext, can be righteous in the sight of the Prince of Peace. . . . War as a method of love is in this age of the world thoroughly unchristian.¹

Against the stream of public opinion he denounced the action of the United States Government. From the pulpit--he often spoke from his old pulpit throughout his retirement--he declared that America needed no more territory--"bulk is not righteousness or honor"--and that as long as his country could not protect its own citizens from "lynch law," it had no business going half-way around the world to "administer law there."² By resorting to war American was denying its call to be "a great, benevolent moral institution."³ Boardman did not hesitate to criticize clergymen who advocated peace as long as peace prevailed but jumped so quickly to the defense of the Spanish-American War; preacher-editor Lyman Abbott was one among the many he chided.⁴ To Abbott's paper, The Outlook, he wrote lamenting the "sudden emergence of atavism" among the American people, i.e., "a reversion to the animal stage of prehuman life."⁵ He seized the opportunity to exhort the Christian ministers again. They as "exponents of the new gospel of peace" ought not to retreat "with the scribes and Pharisees" to Moses but "as champions of the new morality"

¹The Outlook, May 26, 1898 (c).

²Philadelphia Press, July 4, 1898 (c). ³Ibid. ⁴Ibid.

⁵The Outlook, July 23, 1898, p. 742.

should lead society forward "under the banner of the Dove."¹ He declared himself an optimist who believed the day not far off "when upholders of war as a method of love will be relegated to the museum of Mosaic fossils."² His hope for the future was for the present somewhat mitigated as he pondered the events of the time and sadly confessed, "The Son of Righteousness in undergoing eclipse."³

In 1901, a few weeks after Theodore Roosevelt succeeded the assassinated McKinley, Boardman wrote the new President to urge him to reject war as "an antiquated policy" in international relations.⁴ Said he:

Thinkers (and thinkers are really the guiding forces of society) are beginning to see that no nation, however "independent," can live in isolation; that nations, like individuals, are "members one of another."⁵

Specifically, he called on President Roosevelt "officially and openly [to] endorse the policy of International Peace, by recommending . . . the enlargement of the title 'Department of State,' by adding the words, 'and peace.'"⁶ The idea was not new, of course. As Boardman noted elsewhere, Benjamin Rush had called for a Peace Department within the executive branch as early as 1798.⁷ Roosevelt was reassured that although unthinking people would call him idealistic,

ideals have ever been the uplifting forces of mankind. The Man of Nazareth was an idealist. But he is conquering the centuries slowly but most surely. The "fanatic" of today is apt to be the conquerer of tomorrow.⁸

How the President reacted--if at all--to this advice is not known.

¹Ibid. ²Ibid. ³Ibid.

⁴G. Boardman to Pres. Roosevelt, Nov. 12, 1901, in Boardman papers, ABHS.

⁵Ibid. ⁶Ibid. ⁷The Kingdom, p. 113.

⁸G. Boardman to Pres. Roosevelt, Nov. 12, 1901, in Boardman papers, ABHS.

Boardman's steady peacemaking work is further illustrated in his unwillingness to approve the erection of statues of Civil War heroes. Apparently an organized protest against the statues was begun in which he did not share; his silence was interpreted as approval of the statues, and his name appeared in a list of those who approved. In a clarification of his stand, he said that while he did not favor the statues he had not openly opposed them because to do so would "strike at our own fathers and brothers and sons. . . ." ¹ Just because he was an "ardent peace-man through and through," he did not protest; to oppose them would have been "injudicious, hurting the cause of peace far more than helping it." ²

All his work in trying to bring peace derived from his understanding of the Bible and the corporateness of human society. His hopes led him to engage in a wide range of activities in behalf of peace. Some of these were pioneering efforts, such as the call for disarmament; others, such as his stand on the Spanish-American War, were at great variance with popular opinion. He remained optimistic to the end. His last book, which noted with just the slightest tinge of bitterness how much the "'Christian' nations have yet to learn . . . from the Master of Ethics," still upheld his conviction that war would be abandoned very soon. ³

The charge of utopianism did not phase him any more in his stand on world peace than in his stance on Christian unity. He believed his position true and right; he saw real evidence of progress; he believed

¹Boardman to Josiah Leeds, May 22, 1886, in Boardman papers, ABHS.

²Ibid. ³Ethics of the Body, pp. 60, 98.

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in the permeating power of the teachings and spirit of Christ; he would not be moved from preaching the way of peace.

CHAPTER IX

BUILDER OF CHARACTER

A commemorative plaque in the present First Baptist Church of Philadelphia proclaims that George Dana Boardman's chief work as pastor was the building of character.¹ The tribute is just, for in all his endeavors he sought to transform thought and word into deeds, and Scripture and theology into personal life. Neither a loud profession of orthodoxy nor claim of personal salvation amounted to anything without Christian character. Nothing less than Christlikeness was the goal. Boardman's character-building work included his preaching, lecturing, and writing; promotion of a distinctly Christian approach to education; establishment of a lectureship in Christian ethics; membership in the movement known as the Brotherhood of the Kingdom; and advocacy of Christian solutions to some of the current social issues.

A. Importance of Christian Character

Christian character--the attainment of a life on the model of Jesus--was stressed by Boardman above everything else. It was not that he believed that men are saved by character; he frankly disavowed any such Pelagianism. Character on his view was not the means of salvation but the arena in which it takes place. Salvation is by grace on the basis of the

¹Supra, p. 53.

sacrifice of Christ; in an outburst of eloquence Boardman said:

What water is in the physical world, that the precious blood of Calvary is in the spiritual: it is the celestial solvent which is dissolving the flint of our fallen, petrified nature, loosing the incrustations of evil habits and adamantine depositions of continuous sinnings, freeing the imprisoned potencies of our heavenborn capacities, and thus preparing the way for restoring the blurred lineaments of the divine image and likeness. Practically speaking, we are saved, that is, our characters are made righteous, before God through blood.¹

Part of Christ's mission "to save men by revolutionizing them" consisted in his teaching, specifically in such doctrines as those of the Sermon on the Mount, or as Boardman loved to call it, "The Mountain Instruction."² Men are drawn to God by the demonstration of His love made known on the cross; they are brought to perfection by obedience to the Master's teachings and imitation of his perfect life. There is thus no dichotomy between religion and ethics; with his penchant for phrasemaking Boardman said, "According to the Nazarene Master, religion is morality looking Godward, and morality is religion looking manward."³

Not only was it vital and necessary that men be holy in character, they must also be whole persons. Christianity, therefore, has its "body side."⁴ The body houses the spirit and provides the setting of spiritual life; "the bodily organs" serve as "the very hinges of the soul, on which character turns to and fro, in and out."⁵ Jesus came to save body as well as spirit. Hence what happens to one's body and what use he makes of it are altogether as important as what he experiences in his inner self.

¹Studies in the Mountain Instruction, pp. 14f. ²Ibid., p. 15.

³Ibid., p. 13. ⁴The Church, p. 51. ⁵Ibid., pp. 135f.

From Boardman's perspective the body is "sacred," serving as "God's true minister" and "man's executive."¹ One's employment of his body "is the supreme test of character" and "the standard of final judgment."² The body serves as "man's shrine," "man's almoner," and "man's test."³

Boardman's last book was dedicated "to all who long to make their body-life tributary to their spirit-life"⁴ In that brief phrase he stated succinctly his concern for developing character in both man's inner and outer life and around the complementary poles of religion and morality.

¹Ethics of the Body, pp. 22, 47. ²Ibid., pp. 29, 50.

³Ibid., pp. 47-50. ⁴Ibid., p. [5].

B. Norm of Christian Character

The ideal of attainment in character was not in Boardman's eyes simply a matter of man's best efforts. Christian ethics to him was a matter of divine revelation, although that did not preclude any light from other sources, since "Jesus Christ is the fulfiller of every human potentiality."¹ Boardman saw in the Decalogue a "well-nigh perfect code," the appearance of which so "suddenly in an archaic age, among a most imperfect people," could be accounted for only by the fact of its divine origin.² What was there in spirit in the Ten Commandments was fully revealed in Christ "the true Law-giver on the true Sinai."³ He came to teach what men could not discover "without supernatural disclosure."⁴ This disclosure of the will of God--specifically in the Sermon on the Mount--formed "a system of moral philosophy" or "Christian ethics."⁵

Since Christian ethics are divinely revealed, it follows that they are immortal. "The Mountain Code" contains "the essential elements of morality," and is, therefore, "as eternal as God's throne."⁶ Necessarily revealed ethics are also of universal application. The Ten Commandments in their essential spirit and elemental meaning "are the axioms of morals, the summary of ethics, the itinerary of mankind, the framework of society, the vertebral column of humanity."⁷ As for Jesus' teachings, Boardman said, "Men outgrow rabbis, schoolmen, theologians; but they cannot outgrow the Divine Man."⁸

¹Studies in the Mountain Instruction, p. 104.

²The Ten Commandments, pp. 23f. ³Mountain Instruction, pp. 13, 24.

⁴Ibid. ⁵Ibid., p. 16. ⁶Ibid., p. 29. ⁷Ten Commandments, p. 23.

⁸Mountain Instruction, p. 29.

It necessarily follows, too, that anything divinely revealed, immortal, and universally applicable must be of absolute authority. In the preface to Studies in the Mountain Instruction Boardman stated that the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount were the very foundation of "Authoritative Morality."¹ Jesus' teachings are further authoritative because they treat "not incidentals, but essentials; not ephemerals, but eternal; not facts, but truths."² Perhaps the greatest authority of Jesus was derived "from the majesty of personal character, the omnipotence of daily life."³ His "heavenly teachings were escorted, matched, buttressed, made imperial by His heavenly life."⁴ Christian ethics thus depends for its direction as much on the spirit in which Christ lived as on the words which he delivered in his precepts; he is the supremely authoritative teacher because he is the supremely authoritative example.

"Christian character as shaped in the golden mold of the Mountain Code," i.e., lives built on the norm of Christ's teaching and example, is responsible for all true progress in the world.⁵ It was reassuring to Boardman to observe that the world was gradually becoming aware that in "Christ's manners" could be found the way to conduct all life, whether in international relations or personal conduct.⁶ He was sure that "the Golden Rule [was] the Golden Key to the Golden Age."⁷

¹Ibid., p. [5]. ²Ibid., p. 23. ³Ibid., p. 28, italics his.

⁴Ibid.

⁵"The Church of the Past," in Keen, op. cit., p. 266.

⁶Mountain Instruction, p. 198.

⁷The Ten Commandments, p. 361.

C. Building Christian Character.

There is scarcely any facet of his career in which Boardman's pre-occupation with developing Christian character is not evident. As preacher, lecturer, and writer he constantly dwelt on the theme. His Christian approach to education centered on the teaching of ethics. To insure that future generations would be reminded of the teachings of Jesus he established a lectureship on Christian ethics.

Three of his books--Studies in the Mountain Instruction, The Ten Commandments, and Ethics of the Body--are manifestly works on ethics. He hoped by means of them to help erect "True Society."¹ The first two of these books originated in his regular pulpit work and were later expanded into lectures and published.² The Ten Commandments is the fullest published expression of his ethical teaching, for in it he went beyond a mere recitation of what the Decalogue was intended to convey to the people of Moses' day to a full analysis of the commandments in the light of Christ's teaching and contemporary problems. Into this book he incorporated much of what he had said elsewhere, particularly in Studies in the Mountain Instruction; e.g., in his discussion of the sixth commandment he incorporated several whole pages from Mountain Instruction into The Ten Commandments.³

The unpublished lectures, "Corporate Society," also given under the titles "Dr. George Dana Boardman's Lectures on Corporate Society, or I-ism, Other-ism, Wholeism," and ". . . Course of Lectures on the Ethics of the

¹Studies in the Mountain Instruction, p. [5].

²Ibid., cf. The Ten Commandments, p. [5].

³Ibid., pp. 111-27; cf. The Ten Commandments, pp. 192-97.

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Body Life," were delivered on numerous occasions.¹ In them he sought to apply his "members one of another" philosophy to a number of current issues in social ethics, including war and peace, labor relations, and living conditions.

The little book Ethics of the Body drew heavily on earlier materials to provide for the members of the Boardman Boys' Guild--"a work of redemption for street boys"--a manual for building Christian character.²

Because of Boardman's belief that all truth holds together in Christ--"Jesus Christ is not only the radiating point of the universe: he is also its converging point"--he saw that any merely secular approach to education left much to be desired.³ However competent and thorough secular education might be within its own province, it remained "radically defective," partial, and untrue as long as it made no reference to Christ.⁴ As long as church and state are separated--and Boardman believed they should remain so--the state lacks competence to provide a complete education.⁵ As he wrote to Dr. William Pepper, provost of the University of Pennsylvania, "No system of education approaches completeness which does not offer a distinctly Christian instruction: for eternity is longer and vaster than time."⁶ How did Boardman propose to solve the problem? He suggested that the church take "this matter of education into her own

¹Supra, p. ²Mrs. G. Boardman, op. cit., p. 41m.

³"The Problem of Education," The Home Circle, Feb., 1882, p. 60.

⁴Ibid. ⁵Ibid., p. 61

⁶Boardman to Pepper, Dec. 13, 1887, in Pepper collection, University of Pennsylvania rare book room.

hands" and supplement "the inevitable defects of a State education" by establishing denominational primary schools.¹ The force of his words seems to be that these schools were to take the place of a public education, although he did not come right out and say so. By "denominational" he did not mean "sectarian" in the sense that narrow theology or ecclesiastical polity should be stressed, but that Christian ethics--"morality founded on the precepts and character of Jesus Christ"--ought to be the focus of instruction.² The church on its own should undertake to provide the schools and the support for them.³

Most higher education, particularly in the larger secular universities, suffered from the same deficiencies as public education, according to Boardman. To make up somewhat for the lack he proposed to Dr. Pepper that the University of Pennsylvania hold a series of lectures at the campus chapel on Sunday afternoons beginning in January, 1888.⁴ He assured the provost that this would not be an injection of sectarianism into the school, noting that many schools, including Harvard, Yale, and Cornell, already had "either resident chaplains or courses of sermons."⁵ He reminded the provost of his own frequent trips to Cornell to speak there.⁶ Why should Pennsylvania go on giving a defective education? Dr. Pepper must have taken the proposal to heart, for less than a year later Boardman delivered a series on the Ten Commandments extending over three months.⁷

¹"The Problem of Education," p. 62. ²Ibid. ³Ibid.

⁴Boardman to Pepper, Dec. 13, 1887, in Pepper MSS, Univ. of Penn. library rare book department.

⁵Ibid. ⁶Ibid., cf. Register, p. 355 et passim.

⁷Register, pp. 392-94.

A year later he came back to campus to give a series on the Minor Prophets; the latter series was not published.¹ Again in 1892 he was appointed chaplain to students at Pennsylvania for a two-month term.² It is doubtful that his duties as chaplain involved more than preaching. Dr. Pepper noted that the series on the Ten Commandments had "attracted an unusual degree of attention" and "indicated a line of progress" in solving the problem of promoting "moral and religious life and work" in the great universities.³ Boardman also sought to make the University more effective in building Christian character by inducing the trustees to begin admitting women students. It was just--"woman is man's complement, his essential peer, his alter ego"--and it was wise--"a sagacious man not only observes the signs of the times; he also adjusts himself to them."⁴ Cornell was already co-educational; its experience showed that the admission of women raised the standards of scholarship and morals and provided a "symmetric culture."⁵ The University was much readier to let Boardman preach a few sermons to its students than to allow females to mingle with them; not until 1898 did they permit women to enroll.⁶

The idea of American Protestants' establishing a great Christian university seems to have been introduced by A. H. Strong, president of Rochester Theological Seminary, about 1889.⁷ Strong believed the school should be built in New York City. The idea attracted Boardman's

¹Ibid., pp. 396f. ²Ibid., p. 402. ³The Twenty-fifth Anniversary, p. 34.

⁴Boardman to Univ. of Penns, Nov. 7, 1882, in Boardman papers, ABHS.

⁵Ibid. ⁶Unidentified newspaper clipping, Boardman papers, ABHS.

⁷G. Boardman, "A Christian University at Washington" (corrected proof), in Pepper MSS, Univ. of Penn. library rare book department.

fancy, but he did not agree that the school should be located in New York City. He appealed for its establishment in Washington--"the best place for an American Christian University."¹ Washington was the best site for several reasons: (1) as the civic capital of the country it was at once "neutral ground" and "common property;" (2) as the "scientific capital" it was the home of numerous scientific institutions and great libraries; (3) as the social center of the country it was the "winter home of opulent families;" (4) the Roman Catholics were already building their national university there--why not meet Rome where she has dug in? and (5) there was already a school at Washington built under Baptist auspices which could easily be the foundation of the proposed Christian university.² Columbian [now George Washington] University, although a Baptist enterprise, had had a non-sectarian base in its charter from the beginning; it was already functioning well in law, medicine, literature, and science. How very simple to take it over and transform it into "The American Christian Institution of Universal Learning."³ Each denomination could maintain its own theological department within the university since it was probably neither possible nor desirable for Christians to agree in creed and polity.⁴ On the other hand the several denominations could and should agree on secular education since, said Boardman, "knowledge is not sectarian; knowledge is catholic."⁵ While ecclesiasticism has nothing to do with science, Christianity has everything to do with science.⁶

¹Ibid. ²Ibid. ³Ibid., italics his.

⁴Ibid. ⁵Ibid. ⁶Ibid.

He persisted in pushing Washington as the best site, although Dr. Strong believed that Washington offered neither a strategic nor a practical solution. Casting a jaundiced eye at Washington, he wrote to Boardman:

\$15,000,000 of secularism, infidelity, color-prejudice, and political intrigue would swamp any million or two which we could put in there [Washington]. Moreover the capture of Washington would be of little value, if New York were lost to us. But it is still more a question as to possibilities. The money can be got for New York, I think, if our leaders will not oppose,--I do not believe it can be got for Washington.¹

The dream of the Christian university, however, was never realized, either at Washington or New York or, for that matter, anywhere else.

George Boardman also long dreamed of a lectureship on Christian ethics at the University of Pennsylvania. As early as 1880 he put forth the idea in the hope that some one of means would come forward with money to endow such a lectureship.² Provost Pepper agreed; he said in 1889, "We need at the University endowments for the teaching of ethics, and for the teaching of religion in all of its aspects--historical, and comparative, and critical."³ Pepper assured Boardman that it would not be long before somebody or other would make the lectureship a reality.⁴ The years went by, however, with no tangible expression of interest. Finally Boardman took steps to make the dream come true by giving \$3000 of his own to found the lectureship and assured the University trustees of more money--\$22,000 he thought--which would be available after he and Ella

¹Strong to Boardman, April 30, 1889, in Boardman papers, ABHS.

²A Plea for the Endowment of a Lectureship on Christian Ethics (Philadelphia: n.n., 1880).

³The Twenty-fifth Anniversary, p. 34.

⁴Pepper to Boardman, Feb. 8, 1890, in Boardman papers, ABHS.

died.¹ The trustees did not hesitate to accept the money as well as the proposal.² Boardman laid down the following conditions for the use of his money: (1) The purpose of the lectureship was "to teach Christian Ethics; that is to say, the practical application of the precepts and behavior of JESUS CHRIST to everyday life, . . . to build up human character after the model of Jesus Christ's." (2) The range of the lectures could be "as wide as human society itself" and include anything pertaining to man's religious nature, intellect, society, or body--"whatever tends to society building or perfectionation of character in Jesus Christ." (3) In spirit the lectures "must be presented from the standpoint of Jesus Christ" and be "unambiguously Christian." (4) The lecturer must be "unconditionally loyal to . . . Christ; for Jesus Christ himself is the world's true, everlasting Ethics;" but the lecturer could easily be a layman, of any denomination, and even a "Latinist."³ To Boardman the trustees extended the invitation to give the inaugural lecture; he willingly agreed and returned to a favorite theme, the Golden Rule.⁴ After his death Mrs. Boardman oversaw the lectureship and helped choose the lecturers.⁵

¹Boardman to University of Pennsylvania trustees, May 16, 1899, in Boardman papers, ABHS.

²University trustees to Boardman, June 8, 1899, in Boardman papers, ABHS.

³The Golden Rule ("The Boardman Lectureship in Christian Ethics," [Philadelphia: Avil Printing Co., n.d.]), pp. 6-12, italics his.

⁴Mrs. G. Boardman, op. cit., p. 34m.

⁵Much of her correspondence is in the Boardman papers, ABHS. The Rev. I. M. Rose, former pastor of FBC, Philadelphia, reports that the income of Boardman's gift has been diverted from its original purpose to support a campus chaplaincy program (interview, Aug. 24, 1965).

D. Character and Society

George Dana Boardman longed to see the extensive permeation of Jesus' teachings throughout society. To this end he labored not only in the ways already mentioned but also through the Brotherhood of the Kingdom as well as his stands on a number of current social issues.

Three young Baptist pastors in New York city were drawn together by a common concern to realize the Kingdom of God in society--to see what Jesus had taught actually penetrate the life of society and its institutions as well as individuals. These three men--Walter Rauschenbusch, Leighton Williams, and Nathaniel Schmidt--early consulted with George Boardman, who though a much older man shared their passion for the Kingdom.¹ Out of these conversations came what the small band of like-minded men called the "Brotherhood of the Kingdom." Their aim was obedience to the ethics of Jesus, with particular stress on Christianity's claims regarding society; what Jesus had said regarding wealth greatly concerned them.² The first summer gathering of the Brotherhood--and most subsequent ones--was held at Williams' summer home "Plas Llecheidior" near Marlborough-on-Hudson, New York, in August, 1893.³ Boardman was among the group of a dozen or so who at that time pledged themselves to personal obedience to the ethics of Jesus, propagation of his teachings to the fullest extent possible, stressing of the social aspects of Jesus' teaching, keeping in touch "with the common people", and infusion of the religious

¹Brotherhood of the Kingdom, Minutes, 1892-1915, p. 3 (in ABHS).

²Ibid., p. 4.

³Ibid., pp. 6f.; cf. "Visitor's Book," the guest register at "Plas Llecheidior" (in ABHS).

spirit into all efforts for social amelioration.¹

He addressed the brethren at that first conference on a favorite topic--church unity--and was elected a member of the executive committee.² The next year he returned--this time Ella came along--to share his thinking on "The Gospel of Eternal Life."³ He was greatly pleased with "this most refreshing sign of the times as manifested in the organization of the Brotherhood" as well as its "truly Christian spirit of courtesy and fraternity."⁴ The members of the Brotherhood agreed that year to admit women on equal terms, and Ella became a member.⁵ She accompanied George as well to the 1895, 1898, and 1900 summer meetings.⁶ At the 1898 gathering he was called upon to present a paper; this time he offered "The Basileia and the Ecclesia."⁷ His direct contribution to the Brotherhood and the full-blown Social Gospel movement to which it gave impetus, beyond his membership and spirit of encouragement, is hard to trace. The younger men, Rauschenbusch most notably, were to make the greatest impact. Perhaps his greatest contribution was his spirit of openness, progressiveness, and idealism. Some of his own tendencies, progressive though they were, were

¹C. H. Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism 1865-1915 ("Yale Studies in Religious Education, XIV;" New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), p. 132 citing Brotherhood literature. Cf. by the same author "Walter Rauschenbusch and the Brotherhood of the Kingdom," Church History, VII (June, 1938), 138-56.

²Brotherhood of the Kingdom, Minutes, pp. 7, 9.

³Brotherhood of the Kingdom, Annual Report, 1894 (New York: E. Scott Co., 1894), pp. 13-15.

⁴Minutes, p. 22. ⁵Ibid., p. 79; Annual Report, 1894, p. 47.

⁶"Visitor's Book," passim. ⁷Minutes, p. 46.

a good deal less radical than those of the younger men. He had never been and did not become in his late years a revolutionary or reformer. He held that

the present ever grows out of the past, that the future is ever growing out of the past and the present. The better is always rooted in what has been good. And so it comes to pass that all true reform is not so much a regress as a progress, unfolding along the axis of growth. The forgetfulness of this is the mistake into which some of our over-zealous reformers are apt to fall. Rather let our motto as reformers be this: Not destruction, but fulfillment; not annihilation, but transfiguration.¹

Not until after Boardman's death did the Brotherhood make its greatest impact on American Protestantism, viz., through Rauschenbusch's Christianity and the Social Crisis [1907].²

On several current social issues Boardman raised a Christian voice; the problems posed by the liquor traffic, labor and management problems, poverty and wealth, and environmental conditions. He was adamantly opposed to "intemperance in drink," a sin which profanes man's body, society, mind, and heart.³ He considered "the wine-cup" as the beginning "of the infernal descent."⁴ The saloon--"the bottomless pit of society"--is guilty of "moral murder."⁵ "To the patriotic citizen" he appealed for help in making "the saloon disgraceful, impossible."⁶ "Pleasant guilds" should be substituted "for showy 'speak-easies'" to destroy the dreadful drink traffic;⁷ the "guilds" and their advantages are not further described.⁷

The labor-management problem Boardman would seek to overcome by avoiding the use of loaded terms such as "capital, labor, strikes, commu-

¹Studies in the Mountain Instruction, p. 103; cf. The Kingdom, p. 77.

²Hopkins, The Rise of the Social Gospel, pp. 133f.

³Ethics of the Body, pp. 63f. ⁴Ibid., p. 65. ⁵Ibid., pp. 58f., 65.

⁶Ibid., p. 66. ⁷Ibid.

nism" and discussing and enforcing "the fundamental principles of social morality."¹ If the preachers will but make known the biblical ethic of love, "the hearers will as a rule make needed personal applications. The appeal to conscience rarely fails to be telling."² The laboring man is entitled to "employment, equity, sympathy, and gratitude."³ Consonant with his view of society as a body, Boardman considered strikes as an example of "self-maiming."⁴ If men could be brought to sense the "co-membership" of all, labor's wrongs would soon be righted.⁵

Poverty appeared to him as inevitable, at least for some portion of the populace, even a "divine ordinance;" "a blessing in disguise," it gives occasion for exercising that "divinest of prerogatives, caring for the suffering."⁶ Each man, he said, should acquire all he honestly can and dispose of it "as God commands him."⁷ "God has endowed us with an ardent, ineradicable desire to accumulate . . . provided we do this . . . for the sake of what the gain may accomplish for . . . Christ."⁸ The rich man really owns no more than the pauper but must as the trustee of God use his wealth properly.⁹ Among the proper uses of wealth Boardman would include profit-sharing plans.¹⁰ The chief use of riches is to enrich

¹Public Opinion (Washington), May 8, 1886 (c). ²Ibid.

³"Corporate Society," p. 5. ⁴Ibid. ⁵Ibid.

⁶["Address to the Home Mission Society, Jan. 20, 1889"], Report of the Fifty-Third Anniversary of the Home Mission Society . . ., p. 24.

⁷The Shrewd Steward (rev. ed., Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union, 1883), p. 16.

⁸Ibid., p. 17. ⁹Ibid., p. 22.

¹⁰"The Just Scales," New Princeton Review, I (March, 1886), 205.

the poor.¹ He saw a need for limiting capital because a "morbid congestion of wealth" disfigures and enfeebles the social body.² Without committing himself to any program, he allowed that proper legislation "by and by" could help balance the wealth.³ He considered the Old Testament idea of a year of Jubilee as a means of restoring balance but cast it aside as "quite unsuited, . . . even impossible."⁴ As with most problems, however, Boardman was inclined to solve this one by voluntary acceptance of "God's own method of tempering the body together, giving special honor to the uncomely parts which lack. . . ."⁵ In this way will "social strifes . . . cease, class distinctions disappear, Capital and Labor mutually embrace, reciprocally exclaiming, 'We are members one of another!'"⁶ Thus the rich man will make "the bosoms of the poor" his "real coffers."⁷ In the "members one of another" approach, there is no communism, "except in the noble sense of this perverted word. The true socialism is not a statute, but a spirit"⁸

Boardman denounced a number of contemporary modes of unlawful accumulation such as product misrepresentation, taking advantage of the helpless, refusing of fair wages, delay in paying debts, living beyond one's means, abuse of bankruptcy laws, withholding of author's royalties by foreign countries, evasion of taxes, and sloth.⁹ Certain men in official or corporate situations received no less a denunciation. He condemned

¹Ibid., p. 206. ²The Ten Commandments, p. 322. ³Ibid., p. 323ff.

⁴Ibid. ⁵Ibid., p. 328. ⁶Ibid. ⁷Ibid., p. 329. ⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid., pp. 258-62.

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the Congress which replaced the one hundred cent gold dollar with the eighty cent silver one, the stock market manipulators, and the merchants who withheld goods to boost the price.¹

On the other hand Boardman refused to coddle the able-bodied poor:

It is a mistaken kindness, founded neither in reason nor in morality, which feeds the healthy mendicant who would rather beg than dig. . . . Employment for the suffering poor is a wiser and more generous bounty than a [sic] ten thousand gratuities. When will legislators . . . cease substituting human enactments, in the shape of Poor Laws, for the divine arrangement that maintenance is the product of a properly rewarded industry?²

In short, the solution for poverty is work.

The improvement of living conditions was another of his concerns. He observed how environment can help or hinder a man's salvation; it can save or damn, "or more likely . . . yield a mixed character."³ Boardman thus accused the individual or corporation "that builds tenement houses without providing sufficient spaces" of stealing.⁴ The man or company erecting factories "without providing proper sanitary arrangements" robs people of their health.⁵ Men are often bad because their environment has been bad.⁶ Dr. Boardman called for the amelioration of human conditions by the study and application of physiology "to questions of locality, air, light, food, clothing, home, employment, vacations, Sundays, athletics, amusements, companionships, prophylactics, etc."⁷ He was cheered by indications that society was becoming alert to matters of public safety and health. It was altogether possible that a change in "an outlaw's environs

¹Ibid., pp. 262-65. ²Ibid., pp. 113f. ³Ethics of the Body, p. 84.

⁴The Ten Commandments, p. 268. ⁵Ibid. ⁶Ethics of the Body, p. 89.

⁷Ibid., p. 88.

. . . [could] transfigure him into a paragon of citizenship."¹ Nevertheless, Boardman was wise enough to remember that man was more than a mere pawn in the hands of circumstances. He cautioned not to make too much of outward conditions, for, in a real sense, "man is his own environer."² Adam sinned in Eden--the best possible environment; Jesus resisted temptation in the wilderness under the most adverse circumstances.³ Boardman noted:

How little Jesus Christ makes of surroundings, herein taking issue with the world's philosophers and reformers. They say: "Alter your conditions, and you will alter your character." He says: "Alter your character, and you will alter your conditions." After all, the Christian--the man who lives in Jesus Christ--is the only really independent man: like his Master, he lives above the weather.⁴

¹Ibid., p. 90.

²Dr. George Dana Boardman's Course of Lectures on the Ethics of the Body-Life . . . October 4 - December 6, 1894 (n.p., n.n., n.d.), p. [8] (program and syllabus).

³Ibid.

⁴Studies in the Mountain Instruction, p. 52.

E. The Optimist

To the very end Boardman remained optimistic about mankind's possibilities. His optimism, however, was not rooted in any evolutionary theory of inevitable progress--at least in the usual sense; he believed that the trend of the twentieth century would be "onward and upward" only because "the Lord of the centuries" had "not lived and died and risen in vain".¹ Christ's spirit was bound to be the ruling force in the days to come in every relationship of men and nations.² The coming century would see nations increasingly adopting Jesus' teaching as "the supreme constitution."³ "Personal, national, international, Christian" standards of ethics would "grow higher and higher."⁴ Environment would be transformed.⁵ Feelings of personal obligation as well as "corporate community" would deepen.⁶ The double standard of sexual ethics would be abolished in the sense that men would be as bound to chastity as women.⁷ Capital punishment was soon to give way to life imprisonment.⁸ The need for legislation--"whether mandatory or prohibitory"--would lessen as "intelligent and cheerful self-regimen" increased.⁹ Labor and management would cease quarreling and begin to cooperate.¹⁰ No doubt society would adopt the Golden Rule as its law.¹¹ Briefly stated, Boardman foresaw "a century of Christocracy."¹² He would leave Good Friday to the pessimist "as the symbol of his perpetual threnody," taking Easter "as the symbol of . . . perpe-

¹The Christian Outlook for the Twentieth Century (Philadelphia: n.n., 1898), single leaf.

²Ibid. ³Ibid. ⁴Ibid. ⁵Ibid. ⁶Ibid. ⁷Ibid. ⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid. ¹⁰Ibid. ¹¹Ibid. ¹²Ibid.

tual Jubilate."¹

That he did not live to see his hopes for mankind realized and that within a few years dark clouds began to loom over the horizon would not likely have deterred Boardman from his optimism. So gripped was he with the permeating power of Jesus' teachings, so great his faith in the spirit of the risen Lord, that a few reverses now and then failed to dampen his enthusiasm. He wrote:

Observe carefully the changing trend of human thought, and beware lest you remain stranded. L'Homme à Venir is no vain dream. The Beatitudes are the resistless dynamic forces which hasten the reign of Universal Peace.²

A seemingly more realistic--at least much less optimistic--generation looks back at George Dana Boardman and sees a "dreamer," an "idealist," a "utopian." Without doubt all these epithets would have flattered him.

¹Ibid.

²"The Old Order Changeth," in Mrs. G. Boardman, op. cit., p. 172.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSIONS

In carrying out its purpose to describe the career of the Rev. George Dana Boardman, 1828-1903, this dissertation has depended chiefly on primary materials in the archives of the First Baptist Church, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and the extensive collection of Dr. Boardman's letters, sermons, notes, and papers in the library of the American Baptist Historical Society, Rochester, New York. The dissertation has followed an historical and descriptive methodology. Boardman's early life and preparation for the ministry have been treated chronologically and his career topically.

He was uniquely prepared for that career. Born in Burma in 1828 of missionary parents, adopted by Adoniram Judson, ill-treated by cruel sailors when sent home to America at age six, he was brought up in Maine and Massachusetts. He entered Brown University, then left to wander for a year and a half in the Midwest, returning with a renewed sense of Christian calling. Francis Wayland, Brown's president, was one of the greatest influences on his life, shaping in particular his intellectual and ethical outlook. Boardman went from Brown to Newton Theological Institution. Following his graduation in 1855, he married Miss Ella Covell and became pastor of the Baptist Church, Barnwell Court House, South Carolina, for seven months, and then resigned because of his anti-slavery sentiment. An eight-year pastorate in Rochester, New York, brought him in touch with

Martin B. Anderson, president of the University of Rochester, who helped shape his whole career, particularly his preaching. Health difficulties--his wife's as well as his own--necessitated a move from Rochester's inhospitable climate. He answered the call of the First Baptist Church, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1864.

The setting of his career was the pastorate of that church. His chief aim in the ministry was to unfold the word of God both in Scripture and in nature. The church helped him achieve his aim by freeing him from the task of pastoral visitation, amply supplying his financial needs, and always holding him in highest esteem. The thirty years of his pastorate were generally a period of progress. The last few years, as Boardman's health declined, saw decline in the church as well due to the change in the neighborhood and to his lack of visitation. His resignation was reluctantly accepted in 1894, and he was elected honorary pastor. He died at Atlantic City, April, 1903.

Above all else Boardman was a preacher. His contribution to most of the causes he espoused was chiefly as a man of words and ideas rather than actions. Preaching to him meant exposition of the Bible. To make known the whole Bible was his aim, and, to a great extent, his achievement. He viewed the Bible and nature as complementary and frequently illustrated his preaching from natural phenomena. Most of his preaching took its form and content directly from the Bible. His style tended to be on the flowery side. He took special care in the choice of words, for they--not pulpit dramatics--carried the burden of his message. Characteristic devices in his sermons are antithesis, studied use of adjectives, and long lists of names. His singular achievement was the "Wednesday evening lec-

tures." a twenty-five year course of Bible studies covering the entire Bible. These studies provided the main source of inspiration for all his speaking and writing. Outside his pulpit he was a popular lecturer. Several of his books of sermons enjoyed modest success.

Dr. Boardman believed that all truth was united in Christ. As a scholar, he was led by this point of view to try to relate science and the Bible at every point. Basically orthodox, still his openness to truth prompted him to advocate the revision of creeds. His broad interests brought him into a wide variety of scholarly associations. A lengthy tour of Europe and the Near East was undertaken to equip himself for his sustained studies of the Bible. He responded to the claims of Darwinism by accepting evolution only in the sense that it offered a reasonable explanation of the Creator's method of unrolling his plan. New scientific discoveries he welcomed, believing that all scientific facts had been implied in the Bible from the beginning. In addition to his study for preaching and writing, he contributed several scholarly articles.

As a Baptist he stood in general agreement with most of the tenets of that denomination, but took a more liberal position on such matters as immortality, "close communion," church membership for children, the doctrine of the Atonement, and liturgy. He was active in most of the Baptist organizations and societies and served as president of the American Baptist Missionary Union for four years. As a strong supporter of ministerial education he helped establish Crozer Theological Seminary. With others he launched the Baptist Congress, a forum for free discussion of current issues, theological and otherwise. A convinced but not uncritical Baptist, his views occasionally raised a few eyebrows.

Boardman, however, was first a Christian and then a Baptist. He took with all seriousness the Pauline image of the church as the body of Christ as the ideal toward which Christendom should strive. At first he spoke on behalf of some form of organizational union of Christians, but this he discarded in favor of unity based on comprehension--the mutual recognition and appreciation of denominational distinctives--and separate but cooperative efforts. He felt that each sect had a divine mission to contribute its unique understanding of Christian truth to the whole body. More a man of words than acts, his chief effort in unifying Christians was holding before them the ideal of the harmoniously working body. He was also active in a number of organizations working for Christian unity, such as the Evangelical Alliance and the League of Catholic Unity. Greatly encouraged by growing interdenominationalism and internationalism, he saw the day coming when not only would Christendom be united but also all men brought together under the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

Boardman was a "peace man." This was true of his personal relationships as well as his labors to bring world peace. He preached peace not simply because he believed that war was contrary to God's will; he looked on humanity as he did the church, as one body. War, in this context, is both murder and suicide. Practically speaking, he denounced war because the world was rapidly coming of age and no longer needed armed conflict as a just way to resolve disputes. He issued a dramatic plea for disarmament in 1890, several years before Czar Nicholas II did. Boardman held membership in numerous peace organizations and served for a time as president of the Christian Arbitration and Peace Society. In speaking and

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writing he was a tireless advocate of peace. When the Spanish-American War broke out, he called America's action "atavistic" and refused to allow that the war was just or necessary. The idea of settling disputes by arbitration and negotiation seemed very promising to him. The greatest hope for peace, however, was the imitation of the ethics of Jesus and the understanding of all mankind as one body. He loved to assert that once Jesus is obeyed, utopia is realized.

Developing Christian character after the model of Jesus was perhaps his greatest concern. He saw correctly that salvation--if it is real--must issue in transformed character. The Sermon on the Mount was to him the world's most perfect ethical system. Public education was defective because it omitted any integrating moral point of view. To make up for the lack, Boardman advocated church supported primary schools, a scheme which did not come to pass. He also hoped--in vain--for the establishment of a great Christian university in Washington in which all denominations could cooperate on the basis of the ethics of Jesus. Long a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, he helped bring about a lecture series for the students on the Ten Commandments for which he was the lecturer. Hoping to make the teaching of ethics a permanent part of the curriculum, he urged the founding of a lectureship; in the end he endowed it himself and gave the inaugural lecture. In the arena of social ethics he took part in the Brotherhood of the Kingdom movement from its inception; in this he was associated with Walter Rauschenbusch and other Social Gospel leaders. His own solutions to social ills tended to depend on individuals' personal acceptance of Jesus and his teachings. He never lost his optimism. His brief declaration, "Christian Outlook for the Twentieth Cen-

tury," is a classic statement of the prevailing "onward and upward" point of view of late nineteenth century American optimism.

Many of his dreams for the church and for mankind he did not see come true. Nor would he even today. Idealist and optimist he was in the highest sense. Progress was the way of God's regime, and Boardman lived and labored in hope of seeing the Kingdom of God realized in this world. Thus he never ceased talking about matters that seemed to most men impossible of achievement. Not given to radical acts himself, he was content to nurture ideas and ideals on which the Kingdom of God would be realized.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABHS--signifies the library of the American Baptist Historical Society,
Rochester, New York.

(c)--following a periodical reference indicates that the item cited is
a clipping in the Boardman collection.

FBC--signifies First Baptist Church, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

m--following a page number refers to the Memorabilia portion of Light and
Life.

n.d.--no date.

n.n.--no name of publisher given.

n.p.--no place of publication given.

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ABSTRACT

To describe the career of the Rev. George Dana Boardman, 1828-1903, this dissertation depends chiefly on the collected Boardman papers to give an historical and descriptive account, chronological for his early life and preparation, topical for the career.

He was uniquely prepared for his work. Born to missionaries in Burma, adopted by Adoniram Judson, he was raised in New England and educated at Brown University and Newton Theological Institution. Brown's president, Francis Wayland, was the chief intellectual and ethical influence on him. After a brief, controversial pastorate in South Carolina, he served eight years in Rochester, New York, until going to the First Baptist Church, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

From 1864-94 his career unfolded in Philadelphia. Free from normal parochial tasks, he achieved his aim of unfolding the whole Bible. Above all a preacher, i.e., a Bible expositor, his main contribution to most of the causes he supported was as spokesman, not as man of action. Inclined to be flowery in speech, he took great pains to find the right word. His greatest accomplishment as preacher was the twenty-five year series of Wednesday evening Bible studies covering the whole Bible. Boardman believed that all truth was united in Christ so that there could be no essential conflict between science and the Bible. Thus he welcomed all new discoveries for the light they threw on the Truth revealed in Christ. A member of several learned societies, he contributed several scholarly articles.

Generally sympathetic to the beliefs of his own denomination, he held progressive views on immortality, "close communion," church membership for children, the Atonement, and liturgy. Most Baptist organizations enjoyed his participation; he was president of the American Baptist Missionary Union for four years and helped found the Baptist Congress.

First a Christian, then a Baptist, he tirelessly proclaimed the ideal Christian unity of the Pauline image of the body of Christ. He envisioned a unified, comprehensive church in which each denomination would contribute its distinctive biblical understanding and so fulfill its divine mission. He foresaw the day when not only Christendom but also all mankind would be one.

A man of peace both in personal dealings and in labors for world peace, Boardman denounced war as contrary to God's will, murderous and suicidal since men are members one of another, and outdated in a world come of age. Arbitration and negotiation were the only means acceptable for settling disputes. He called for disarmament several years before the Czar did. To Boardman the Spanish-American war was neither just nor necessary and was an example of American "atavism." If the nations would only adopt Jesus' ethics, peace would prevail.

Boardman had no greater concern than the development of Christian character after the model of Jesus. Salvation must be realized in personal life guided by the Sermon on the Mount, the most perfect ethical system. Boardman sought in vain to extend the practice of Jesus' ethics by proposing church supported primary schools and a Christian university at Washington. With more success he brought ethical lectures to the University of Pennsylvania and elsewhere and endowed a lectureship on ethics.

A member of the Brotherhood of the Kingdom movement from its beginning, he was associated with Walter Rauschenbusch and other Social Gospel leaders. Always an optimist, he believed that social ills would be healed when individuals accepted Jesus and his teachings.

With undiminished desire to see the Kingdom of God realized, Boardman never ceased to uphold the ideals of truth, Christian unity, world peace, and Christ-like character, matters which seemed to most men impossible to realize.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Joseph Ide Mortensen was born May 28, 1936, at Cheyenne, Wyoming, the third son and fifth child of Axel C. and Mabel G. Mortensen. After graduation from the Cheyenne Senior High School in 1954, he enrolled at Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, receiving the A.B. there in 1958. In 1961 he received the B.D. from Gordon Divinity School, Wenham, Massachusetts. At Gordon he also served three years as teaching fellow in Greek. Following his ordination to the Christian ministry in 1961 he was associate pastor of the First United Baptist Church of Lowell, Massachusetts, for two-and-a-half years. Since December, 1963, he has been pastor of the Dudley Street Baptist Church of Boston. He and his wife, the former Linda Larsen of Gothenburg, Nebraska, have three children, Anne, Charles, and John.

